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Contents

The Week 244

Editorials

The War of the Dollar 246
Judge Manton and the Supreme Court 248

General Articles

Agriculture in Russia ..... Hans Zörner 250
Yachts without Income ..... Harold M. Groves 254
Getting the Jews out of Germany ..... Mary Heaton Vorse 255
Vilfredo Pareto ..... George E. Novack 258
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 261
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 262
Café de l'Univers ..... Stark Young 263

Correspondence 265

Reviews of Books

A Poet in His Letters ..... Robert Morss Lovett 266
Nationalistic History ..... Isidor Schneider 267
Fiction, Various Sizes ..... T. S. Matthews 268
Armies of Liberation ..... Hugh Jones 269
Eugenics and Success ..... Paul H. Douglas 269
Book Notes 270

The Week

A SALVO of three heavy guns has just been heard, warning industry to make haste in submitting codes under the Industrial Recovery Act. Mr. Donald R. Richberg, counsel for the recovery administration, speaking officially in New York City, told business that the administration would accept no responsibility for a relapse into depression if industry failed to take advantage of the opportunity now offered to organize itself for self-government. He suggested that this might be the last chance of capitalism to vindicate itself. Attorney General Cummings sharply reminded business that the anti-trust laws are still on the statute books and that there is no legal way around them except through an approved code under the new act. He promised that these laws would be rigorously enforced. General Hugh Johnson emphasized the necessity for haste, and pointed out that the government holds in reserve the power to enforce codes upon reluctant industries through application of the licensing system—a power which he hoped it would not be necessary to use. This concentrated pressure is not a sign of mere administrative impatience, nor does it signify a naïve belief that the details of a new industrial constitution can all be elaborated in a day. Indeed, the administration itself has admonished industry not to try to cover everything in the first codes submitted, but to deal principally with shorter hours and higher minimum wages. It is quite possible that before this comment appears, a provisional standard for hours and wages will be applied to all industry, pending the approval of separate codes.

THE pressure for haste in submitting codes arises, in the first place, from economic considerations. We have had a startling revival in prices of commodities and in many forms of industrial production. But there is a danger—indeed, almost a certainty—that this revival will be short-lived unless something more is done than has been done. The rapid increase in output represents a desire by employers and business men to take advantage of low prices of materials, low wages and long hours, in the knowledge that costs and prices are rising and in the anticipation that they will continue to rise. The goods are being manufactured for stock of manufacturers and dealers, far in advance of increased demand from ultimate consumers. Even the increase in demand from consumers, such as it is, depends in large measure on a belief that prices will be higher and therefore that goods had better be laid in. If prices do not go on rising as anticipated, this temporary impetus will be stopped short. And of course prices cannot and should not rise forever. When they stop, it will be necessary to sell the stocks accumulated. The crucial question is, will the masses of the people have the purchasing power to buy them? And here is the flaw in the present recovery. In spite of the soaring curves of production, employment has increased but little, wage-earnings crawl upward at a snail-like pace. It is necessary to pass on the gains of recovery to labor by shorter hours and higher wages, if it is to last. There is no time to be lost. It would be better to advance production more slowly, consolidating our position as we go.

A LESS obvious economic consideration, but an equally important one, dictates the necessity of enforcing wider employment and higher wages in all

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important industries. The effort to give substance to recovery demands an advance along the whole front at once, and may be imperiled by gains in one industry out of proportion to gains in others. Cotton textiles, for instance, have adopted a code which will increase labor costs substantially—probably in some cases more than double. Efficient mills can well afford this increase, provided they can continue to operate somewhere near full capacity—that is, provided their goods can be sold to individuals by those who are now buying them. But if unemployment and low wages continue in other industries, the market for textiles will not be sufficiently great, since textile workers buy only a small percentage of their own product. In that case, the higher costs will simply mean even greater unemployment in cotton mills than before. One or two or three industries, however large, cannot bear the whole weight of the effort. But if all important industries shorten hours and advance wages about the same time, each will have a larger market. That is why the administration has said that the test of the whole plan will come within ninety days.

ALL this reasoning is so persuasive that, once it is known, there remains a little mystery as to why employers do not hasten to coöperate, why such solemn warnings have been thought necessary. And here appears the most significant factor of all. Many sections of industry are exhibiting their old traits of hoggishness, of stupidity. They are afraid of agreeing to codes which necessitate collective bargaining; they do not want to risk any chance of increased power for labor. Several codes in leading industries would probably have reached the stage of hearings long before this, had there not been disputes among the members of the industry itself, and between the industry and the administration, concerning this matter. Then, too, many industries do not want to increase wages without being permitted an equivalent increase in prices; they do not see the main purpose of the "new deal," to redistribute income on a basis of large volume of output, as a means of economic stability. Some manufacturers' associations are deliberately sabotaging the effort because they want old-fashioned laissez-faire, and are counting on automatic recovery to remove any danger of public control. In other words, the good old class conflict—the principal contradiction of capitalism—is sticking its head out of the woodpile. Unless there is some degree of surrender on the part of business, the new deal will be a colossal failure. President Roosevelt is not, as the Communists picture him, a fascist collaborating with the capitalists to exploit the workers. This is so silly a caricature that it is beneath contempt. But he is a well meaning liberal who may easily be defeated by unregenerate capitalists in his effort to enlist their coöperation for the benefit of the masses. If such a liberal fails, the future will lie between the real fascists and the advocates of a genuinely socialized society.

FOR many years, public-utility companies have followed one rule in regard to valuation of their properties for rate-making purposes. In a time of declining costs, they have demanded that their properties be valued as of the time when they were created. When costs were rising they have insisted on the other hand that "present reproduction cost" is the only sound principle. No one, of course, is deceived by these alleged principles, which are just an attempt to extort from the public the largest possible revenue. Something of the same sort seems to be going on in the baking industry, now that the domestic-allotment plan has gone into operation in regard to wheat. Since the wheat tax is now about one-half cent for each pound of bread, certain bakers—particularly in Iowa—attempted to put up the price to the consumer by three cents a pound, using this increase as their excuse. Unfortunately for them, a year or two ago the price of wheat was dropping very rapidly, and the United States government saw fit to inquire why the price of bread remained persistently so high. At that time, the bakers put themselves formally on record as believing the price of wheat is such a small item in the cost of a loaf that it is practically insignificant. If they were right then, they cannot be right now. It is their hard luck that somebody in Washington has a long memory, and that Mr. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, is a man of courage and decision who proposes that there shall be no profiteering so long as he has the legal power to prevent it.

ROY HOWARD, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, has returned from a trip to the Orient in a mood of grave concern over the relations between the United States and Japan. He feels that all the attempts at beneficent internationalism of the last few years have failed, as regards the Far East. Japan has violated every one of her international pledges, and intends to go on violating them. He reports that the attitude and actions of the United States are completely misunderstood by the Japanese. They consider us their chief opponent in the Orient. They are bitter about the humiliation we inflicted upon them through the Japanese Exclusion Act. They believe that our failure to build our navy up to the limit permitted under existing treaties results from sheer penuriousness on our part and that because of this miserly attitude, they can rely upon our offering no serious military threat to their policy of national aggrandizement. Mr. Howard recommends the repeal of the Exclusion Act, prompt recognition of Russia and the sending of a commission to Manchukuo which can inform the President, the Congress and the American public as to the actual status of affairs there. He also recommends that we should at once build our navy up to treaty strength.

WITH Mr. Howard's first three recommendations, we are in hearty accord. Two of them, the recognition of Russia and the repeal of the Exclusion Act, The New Republic has often advocated.

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We are extremely dubious, however, about the wisdom of his fourth proposal. Just what is it that we want Japan to do, which she now refuses but would accede to if our navy consisted of a few more ships than at present? Is there any case in history where relations between two countries, possible belligerents, have been bettered by an armament race between them, even within the limits of a treaty? Does Mr. Howard think his recommendation is likely to increase Japan's belief in our disinterested and friendly intentions? Just what interests have we in the Far East which justify a course containing so grave a threat to an amicable relationship? It must be remembered that Congress has voted, and the President has signed, a law giving the Philippines their freedom; that the United States officially turned its back upon imperialistic intentions in any part of the world, and that we are likely to make our foreign trade only an easily dispensable luxury. In the light of these facts, would not Mr. Howard's ends be better achieved if we said to Japan: "Under no circumstances do we propose to fight you for land, trade or opportunity for investment in Asia. In view of this fact, and since our present fleet is obviously adequate to protect our own shores from aggression—an aggression which you could not carry on across the Pacific in any case—we do not propose to tax our citizens at this time for a huge, completely nonproductive and wasteful expenditure on additional naval equipment"? If Mr. Howard can answer these questions, we should be glad to have him do so, and we offer him the columns of The New Republic for that purpose.

THE famous municipal-housing projects of Vienna were undertaken partly because the Socialist government of that city was concerned to see thousands of good Socialist voters moving out into the suburbs, and wanted to keep them home for political reasons. Some years ago, the Tammany organization on Manhattan, New York City, became similarly alarmed about the exodus of its members to other boroughs and to the suburbs, and likewise planned a municipal-housing project, for which a large area was cleared. For various reasons, the houses were never built, and the project, the Chrystie-Forsyth development, has remained as it stood after the ancient rookeries of the area had been demolished. Now, the city officials have authorized a new enterprise there, under private auspices and using money loaned by the federal government. The successful bidders, Sloan and Robertson, will build a block of houses to rent at $10.75 a room a month. Among the unsuccessful applicants was Andrew J. Thomas, a pioneer in model-apartment building for the poor, who proposed apartments to rent at $8.31. To a lay observer, his plans seemed equally practicable, far more imaginative and ingenious, and superior in every way; and the New York City press has broadly hinted that the Tammany bosses, in awarding this contract, have been up to their old tricks.

THE article on Russian agriculture by Dr. Hans Zörner on page 250 of this issue was written as a result of observation during the crisis of 1932. Dr. Zörner, a German expert, is unsympathetic with the whole Soviet regime, as will be seen from his second article, to be published next week. Soviet authorities contend that the mistakes to which he refers have been largely rectified, and that the results of the 1933 growing season will be much better than those of last year. Emphasis has now been placed on higher yield rather than extension of acreage; the planned acreage is, as a matter of fact, slightly smaller this year than last. Sowings reported complete by June 10 constituted 92.5 percent of the total this year as against 85.7 percent in 1932. Early sowing is an important factor in high yield. This improvement was due not only to favorable weather conditions but also to human factors such as better organization, education of the peasants in new methods, a larger supply of tractors and tractor parts, better condition of tractors, greater care in such matters as destruction of weeds, deep plowing and harrowing after plowing. Hope for improvement also arises from an important change in policy. State grain procurements this year have been replaced by fixed quotas for each collective farm, so that its members know in advance just how much grain they will be expected to deliver, and also know that any increase in the surplus over this amount will result in higher income to themselves. This is expected to be an extremely powerful stimulant to the increase of yield.

The War of the Dollar

IT NOW appears that the President, hopeless of being able to win the gold-standard countries to his program at the London Conference, is bending every effort toward gaining assistance from Great Britain. If Britain and the United States, forming a nucleus for the Dominions and all the other nations which have left gold, succeed in a coöperative effort for world recovery, the other nations will eventually be obliged to fall into line. Encouragement for this project may be derived from recent debates in the House of Commons praising the American policy and urging that Great Britain imitate it. Nevertheless, Chancellor of the Exchequer Neville Chamberlain, while expressing friendly sentiments, is apparently not ready to act. He advises following us "at a prudent distance" only; he intimates that the dollar has been driven too far down by speculation and in the autumn is likely to rise as a result of "natural forces"—*i. e.*, the pressure of our favorable balance of payments. And he is right—provided only that prices in the United States do not rise greatly in the meantime and the threat of drastic devaluation is not executed.

It is important to remember that Mr. Roosevelt,

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with all his generous and intelligent idealism, is first of all a practical politician, and political considerations weigh heavily with him. Large numbers of people throughout the United States are convinced that dollar depreciation is the primary cause of rising prices on our security and commodity markets. A popular impression is that France, and other wicked nations of the European gold bloc, wish to deprive us of this approaching prosperity, and Mr. Roosevelt, standing boldly forth with upraised arm, has said, "No." This view of the conflict is a strong political asset for the administration in both domestic and foreign affairs. The depreciation of the dollar gives American exporters a competitive advantage over exporters of other countries, and particularly over those of Great Britain, our chief trade rival—provided the dollar depreciates faster than the prices of exportable commodities rise. If the dollar continues to drop, British exporters are likely to raise an angry demand that the pound sterling likewise should again be depreciated. For some months now, the pound has been stable in relation to the French franc, but the British treasury has given no public assurance that this *de facto* stability will be maintained.

Mr. Roosevelt probably does not take seriously the threat of a currency-depreciation race between the United States and England. He wants Britain as a partner, not as an economic foe. Nevertheless, if the dollar drops fast and far enough, Washington strategists calculate that the British government will be compelled to approach our government and ask for an understanding, first, on an eventual dollar-pound ratio and, second, on general financial and commercial policy.

It is possible to believe that in any such negotiations Mr. Roosevelt would hold a position of great strategic strength. He is likely to have the American electorate wholeheartedly behind him on the currency-depreciation issue. British opinion, on the contrary, is divided. English manufacturers of competitive export goods, of course, want as cheap a pound as they can get. But the great English bankers, with few exceptions, are concerned solely with the pound's so-called "integrity." They are deeply opposed to any further depreciation. In addition, there is the powerful English rentier class, including some of England's nobility, which is equally opposed to depreciation.

The British negotiators, consequently, would not have a free hand. The bankers and rentiers do not want the value of the pound discussed at all and would probably prefer almost any concessions to America rather than to have prolonged negotiations. It might be possible to reap an exclusive advantage from this situation by obtaining a low exchange value for the dollar—perhaps as low as the traditional parity of $4.86. But a much more important objective is to persuade the British to agree to a concerted financial policy for the future. The British might promise to refrain, for the present, from returning to gold, and to coöperate with us in manipulating the dollar-pound, as a unit, to prevent further decline in world price levels. Since any such agreement necessarily would include the British Dominions, India, South America and the countries of Scandinavia, it would mean the setting up at once of a homogeneous price-trading area covering more than half the habitable globe.

It is obvious that this is an American foreign policy which is definite and has magnificent objectives. It should be noted that its success does not depend in any way upon the continuance of the ill fated London Conference. There are, however, two very practical dangers which may threaten Mr. Roosevelt's policy. The first is that it seems likely Mr. Roosevelt has overestimated his personal prestige in Europe. The second is that it is possible he has underestimated the wrecking proclivities of European currency speculators.

The sharp, parental tone in Mr. Roosevelt's notes to the London Conference refusing dollar stabilization, suggests that he believes he bulks as large in Europe as here at home. On the contrary, to hard-bitten officials of the British Foreign Office, Mr. Roosevelt falls in much the same category as Hitler. Both men are engaged in great tasks of domestic reorganization which may or may not succeed. In the frigid analysis of Downing Street, Mr. Roosevelt's recovery program may yet be sabotaged by American business and his administration repudiated. Consequently, while it is extremely likely that, if the dollar continues to depreciate rapidly, the British will approach us for the purpose of fixing a dollar-pound ratio, it is not at all certain they will feel disposed to enter into any wide understandings with a President who, they feel, has not yet consolidated his leadership.

It is the European currency speculators, however, who present the greatest, most tangible and most immediate danger to Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy. It is not necessary to believe the current, exaggerated reports about Europe's "money international" to recognize their power for harm. There is, at least, no doubt that there exist in Europe syndicates of speculators with considerable resources and a highly perfected technique for spreading alarmist rumors in the world press.

In the last few days, half a dozen little stories have appeared in American newspapers to the effect that packages of American securities have been received in London, with instructions to sell at the market and hold the proceeds in London. It is by no means fantastic that, by such scare reports, speculators may succeed in inducing a real flight of capital from the United States. If this occurs the results are likely to be disastrous. We have no equivalent of the British Equalization Fund. We might easily see an uncontrollable fall of the dollar and, inside the country, a wild advance in prices. Mr. Roosevelt would then be implored to intervene, and give his consent to premature stabilization. The chief weapon on which he is reported to be depending to carry out his foreign policy—the threat of further

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dollar depreciation—would thus be summarily snatched from his hand.

There is some evidence that the American delegation in London has become aware of the dangers to American policy presented by European money gamblers and is attempting to warn Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt's jurisdiction stops at the Atlantic's edge, and without some sort of working arrangement with the central banks of England and France, dollar speculation is going to be increasingly hard to keep within bounds. Currency depreciation has proved in the past an extremely tricky weapon to employ in international diplomacy, and, if he relies upon it, Mr. Roosevelt may find he will succeed in wounding only himself.

Judge Manton and the Supreme Court

FOR A JUDGE of an inferior court to thumb his nose at the Supreme Court is hardly an edifying spectacle, though whether it represents courage or arrogance, we must leave the Supreme Court to determine. We refer, in the present instance, to Martin T. Manton, the presiding judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit of New York. The bone of contention between him and the Supreme Court is the control of the transit lines of New York City, with their vast financial and social implications. Through receivers, these lines are now in the hands of the federal court in New York. The Supreme Court has indicated they should be in hands other than those of Judge Manton, and the worthy judge thinks very much better of his own opinion than he does of those of the Supreme Court.

This is not the first time that the Supreme Court and Judge Manton have had serious differences of opinion regarding public policy and judicial propriety. Once before Judge Manton assumed to know what was best for the public good in the administration of New York's transit system. In the bitter controversy between New York City and the Interborough over the five-cent fare, Judge Manton, in 1928, threw the authority of the federal courts on the side of the Interborough. Although applications for an increased fare were still pending before the New York Transit Commission, which is the state tribunal especially charged with problems of utility regulation in New York City, and suits were in progress in the state courts to interpret the complicated series of five-cent contracts between the Interborough and the city, Judge Manton (this time, to be sure, with the concurrence of two colleagues) issued an injunction forbidding state and city authorities to interfere with the Interborough's proposed seven-cent fare. Judge Manton cavalierly brushed aside the applicability of the five-cent contracts, entertained no doubt of their invalidity and was equally sure of the constitutional right of the Interborough to a seven-cent fare. But the Supreme Court found not even "fair certainty" of the validity of these conclusions, and was certain only of the impropriety of Judge Manton's action in depriving the state courts of an opportunity to pass upon questions of state law peculiarly meet for their decision. And so Judge Manton's "improvidential" injunction was set aside as beyond the "proper discretion of the court." The Court of Appeals of New York was allowed to rule, as it did, that Judge Manton was wholly wrong and that the five-cent contracts were controlling.

Judge Manton was equally certain of his law when a courageous stockholder of the American Tobacco Company complained of the outrageous cash bonuses and stock preferences, running into millions, which officers and directors of the company had awarded themselves. The Judge apparently did not even see any humor in the fact that the fat wads of stock which President Hill and the other rulers of the American Tobacco Company had awarded themselves were justified as "employee profit-sharing" under the New Jersey corporation law. The enormous cash bonuses, which apart from other "extras" yielded President Hill $843,507.72, received Judge Manton's official blessing. President Hill himself could not have been more righteous in his accents of approval, or more deferential to the great captains of industry, than was Judge Manton in sanctioning these luscious windfalls of the American Tobacco Company.

Not so contiguous to the world of great affairs in New York as was Judge Manton, the Supreme Court viewed these tobacco bonuses with a less tolerant judgment. A majority of the Supreme Court, instead of upholding the stock preferences, thought that the courts of the home state of the Tobacco Company, New Jersey, should pass on their legality; while Mr. Justice Stone (speaking also for Mr. Justice Brandeis, and joined in a separate opinion by Mr. Justice Cardozo) so severely castigated the whole transaction that President George Washington Hill of the American Tobacco Company announced the surrender of his heavy stock allotment. As for the cash bonuses, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed Judge Manton and approved the dissent of his colleague, Judge Swan. The reprimand of Judge Manton's view of corporate morality, as practised by the American Tobacco Company, was all the more decisive in that it was pronounced by Mr. Justice Butler, the most uncompromising conservative on the Court.

In the recent Interborough receivership case, Judge Manton acted to forestall an appeal to the district judge before whom applications for receivership would normally come in the orderly distribution of judicial business in the Southern District of New York. He exercised the authority of a senior circuit judge to assign a circuit judge to sit in the district court "when the public interest requires." And Judge Manton assigned himself. By devices reminiscent of Gilbert and Sullivan's Lord

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Chancellor, he enabled himself to entertain, on August 26, 1932, an application for the appointment of receivers for the Interborough; on the same day he assented to the application and entertained an order appointing receivers and designating their counsel. Judge Manton's action was the culmination of what the Supreme Court characterized as "an acute controversy between the Senior Circuit Judge of the Second Circuit and the district judges of the Southern District of New York." The dispute concerned the disposition of judicial patronage. Fundamentally, nothing less was involved than the considerations that should govern the orderly administration of justice and the means for assuring the public's respect for the federal courts. It is not too surprising that Judge Woolsey, before whom Judge Manton's action was challenged, was led to conclude that Judge Manton's conduct constituted "acts which involved usurpation of power and consequently were wholly void and of no effect."

Technically, the Supreme Court reversed Judge Woolsey; morally, they sustained him. The Supreme Court ruled that Judge Manton's assumption of jurisdiction in the Interborough receivership was not "usurpation of power." But "the possession of power is one thing; the propriety of its exercise in particular circumstances is quite a different thing." The Supreme Court rebuked Judge Manton and asked him to mend his ways. At a time when the conduct of federal judges in receivership proceedings have been seriously questioned before Congress and the Supreme Court, and when the whole system of federal receiverships is about to be subjected to a congressional investigation, the observations of the Supreme Court upon Judge Manton's behavior in the Interborough case become doubly important. They are at once a warning to the inferior courts throughout the land and a reassurance to the public that the Supreme Court, at all events, will not tolerate judicial shenanigan. We need not apologize, therefore, for quoting extensively from the opinion of Mr. Justice Van Devanter, speaking for the Supreme Court in the Interborough case:

> A receivership is not grantable as of course, but only for reasons strongly appealing to the judge to whom the application is made. When large properties are involved a receivership usually involves widely conflicting interests and presents questions fraught with difficulty and exceptional delicacy. This was true of the receivership here in question. It involved properties, estimated to approximate $500 million in value, which were held and used by a public carrier employing thousands of persons in its work and carrying hundreds of thousands of passengers each day. The carrier was in greatly embarrassed condition, had thousands of creditors whose interests were divergent, and was confronted with possible forfeiture of its franchises.
>
> All this shows that the situation was one in which the assignment of a judge to take charge of the receivership, if one was to be assigned, was a task which needed to be performed upon careful consideration and with the utmost impartiality. The difference of opinion, between the Senior Circuit Judge and the District Judges, respecting the relative fitness of individuals and trust companies as equity receivers, was not a proper ground for taking the cause away from the District Judge before whom it ordinarily would come, and bringing it before the assigning Senior Circuit Judge. . . .
>
> Granting that the latter was most sincere in what he did, there was yet no compelling reason for assigning himself. Had he reflected he probably would not have made such an assignment; but he acted hastily and evidently with questionable wisdom. This action has embarrassed and is embarrassing the receivership. If he were now to withdraw from further participation in the receivership proceedings the embarrassment would be relieved; and the belief is ventured here that, on further reflection, he will recognize the propriety of so doing and, by withdrawing, will open the way for another judge with appropriate authority to conduct the further proceedings.

The unusualness of such stern remarks emanating from the Supreme Court reënforces its admonition. One would suppose that even the least sensitive of judges would heed it. Indeed, on the day that the opinion was handed down, Judge Manton announced his submission to it. Somewhat pharisaically he stated, on May 29, "It has been my intention right along to withdraw, once my original authority was established." But now a month later, he thinks better of it. After full consideration of the Supreme Court's opinion, he concludes, as correctly paraphrased by The New York Herald Tribune, "that the Supreme Court did not know what it was talking about." And so, in the light of "profound convictions," he announces, "I cannot for the present bring myself voluntarily to withdraw from this case." It is not for us to suggest the means that are at the Supreme Court's disposal to enlighten still further the moral obtuseness of Judge Manton. But we cannot believe that his refusal "voluntarily" to terminate a situation which has received the opprobrium of the Supreme Court and the condemnation of the New York press will be allowed to rest unchallenged. What is at stake is public confidence in the federal judiciary and the Supreme Court's capacity to vindicate it.

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Agriculture in Russia[1]

AGRICULTURE is the decisive factor in the entire economic development of Russia. The importance of agriculture within the whole economic structure of the country is so preponderant that a satisfactory solution of the agrarian problem represents the sole basis for economic conditions in general. Therefore the study of this key question of Russian economics must be of an interest greatly surpassing that of the agriculturist alone.

The leading politicians of the Soviets set themselves the task of fitting the great agricultural expanses of Russia into their scheme of planned economic production. They regarded the vast size of the country, the greatly varying conditions of soil and climate and the correspondingly varied crops as important assets in the system of planned production, indeed, almost as guarantees of success. They argued that a complete control and regulation of the agricultural output—exploiting to the utmost the diverse possibilities offered by nature—would allow the various crops to be raised in the most favorable localities and that this fact alone would give them an inestimable advantage over all countries without systematically planned production. They therefore attempted to divide the country into fixed zones of production, or "rayons." A few examples may serve to illustrate their line of thought.

Inasmuch as certain semi-arid districts are peculiarly suited for the production of wheat of a high quality, such districts were allotted solely for wheat production. Other regions, such as Turkestan, parts of Transcaucasia and others, were considered favorable for cotton production, and cotton was therefore to be the sole or at least the main crop there. The same principles were applied to other regions, for example, cattle raising, etc. Thus the attempt was made to grow crops in the most favorable districts and to exploit districts specially adapted to certain definite types of production. In cotton "rayons" all other crops, as for instance corn, were to be eliminated and removed to other sections, so that the utmost use might be made of the cotton-growing propensities of the district. By employing this scheme of systematic location, it was hoped to attain such excellent conditions for each single product and ultimately for the whole agricultural output of the country that lowest costs and highest grades would be obtained and that it would also be possible to undersell all other competitors in the world markets. Naturally localizing production is feasible only in a strictly regulated and controlled economic system which allows an interchange of products between the various "rayons."

[1] An editorial commenting on this article will be found on page 246.—The Editors.

The realization of the plans for localizing agriculture entailed to a great extent a change and reorganization of the existing forms of agricultural production. Consequently the general principle of planned economics in itself led to the remodeling of the various types of agricultural production and to seeking new units which would lend themselves more readily to systematic production. However, the existing types, the innumerable peasant holdings, did not in the least favor the execution of these plans.

In the course of the reorganization of agriculture two new productive types were evolved which were intended to realize the practical and theoretical aims of the system. These were the sovhoz, or state enterprises, on the one hand and the kolhoz, or collective farms, on the other, which united a great number of small farms in one large productive unit. Finally, as a further aid to the kolhoz farms, machine and tractor stations were established. These new units would, it was hoped, not only increase production, but they would also facilitate the collection and distribution of the output. What is more, they were meant to encircle and crush the individualist section of agriculture which was considered hostile to the system. Finally, they would establish Soviet rule in the country on the broadest foundation.

The constructive ideas underlying these new types were mainly influenced by the form taken by industrial development throughout the world during the last few decades. It was an attempt to transplant industrial principles into agriculture. The development of the new types was determined by the theory that large productive units were fundamentally superior to small ones and that true efficiency could only be attained by the introduction of big units of production. This was one predominant idea. Another was that the highest efficiency of human labor in agriculture could only be achieved by the introduction of machinery on a large scale, just as large plants in industry tremendously increase the productivity of labor.

Farms built on the principle of mass production were to be created. This was especially to be true of the great sovhoz farms. The name "wheat factory," applied to the big grain-growing estates, clearly indicates this tendency. The typical features of modern industry—highly developed specialization and mechanization—were to be introduced into these agricultural enterprises. This tendency led to the same development as that taken by the theories of planned economics and the "rayon" principle, namely toward the establishment of single-enterprise farms where only one crop was to be raised.

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Such were the fundamental considerations responsible for the creation of the new types of agricultural enterprise. The development of these ideas was affected by a curious mixture of practical experience and purely theoretical deductions entirely uninfluenced by reality. A greater use of machinery certainly tended to increase the output of an agricultural system so impoverished in all means of production. As a supplementary factor of production machinery should effectively contribute to an additional output. But theoretical deductions led to the false application of machinery. Instead of its being used to supplement existing means of production (for instance, animal draft power) it was made to supplant them. Thereby the effectiveness of machinery was, if not completely nullified, at least considerably lessened.

As a result of these considerations the sovhoz farms were primarily built up as huge units. The existence of a definite limit to the size of the unit was at first flatly denied. It was the general opinion that highly developed mechanization and specialization would enable enterprise of hitherto undreamt-of dimensions to be evolved. As a prototype of these sovhoz farms the "Gigant" was created. It was to serve as a model for the big grain factories. At the climax of its history it comprised about 625,000 acres. This enormous area was organized as one unit under a central management. The acreage was subdivided into a number of sections.

A further typical feature of these novel units was the complete mechanization and the entire elimination of animal labor, combined with the attempt to minimize human labor in an attempt to obtain a maximum production per unit of labor and machinery applied. As in a specialized factory, all efforts were to be concentrated solely on grain production, thorough specialization being considered the only road to success. The entire enterprise was organized under central management and guidance. The various labor squads were to work under detailed orders from the central office, all the work being planned by the central management.

The Mistakes of the State Farms

What fundamental errors are recognizable in this economic system? One major mistake lies in the dimensions of the unit. The unwieldy size must inevitably produce so much internal friction as to form a serious menace to the success of the enterprise. Mass production loses much of its advantage as soon as a certain size limit has been exceeded. On the other hand the unavoidable disadvantages become so preponderant that at a certain point in expansion they counterbalance all the advantages of large-scale production. In enterprises with a mechanized production such as grain growing, the expansion limit is high. However, too large dimensions in such units are very dangerous, especially when the units are placed in regions with extreme climatic changes. This is the case with many of the Russian grain factories. Under the prevalent climate, where spring droughts are a great danger, it is of the utmost importance to make fullest use of the most favorable day—one might almost say hour—for spring sowing. The sowing campaign must be completed within a very few days unless the crop is to be unsatisfactory. Under such conditions it is a mistake to work in such large units that the manager is unable to keep control of all details. The maximum size for livestock farms is lower than for grain farms. There are fewer advantages to be found in large-scale production and, moreover, an increase in the number of livestock makes infectious diseases a menace of ever growing importance. Furthermore, as soon as higher yields and greater efficiency are desired, individual care becomes of the greatest importance. But such individual care is always more difficult to obtain as the number of animals collected in one unit increases. The consequences of overexpansion were very soon felt on the livestock farms.

Workers and Managers

The demands upon the managers of farms of exceptional size grow so complex that it becomes increasingly difficult to find men fitted for the posts. In 1929, at a period when the great state farms were not yet fully developed, I had a long discussion with Russian experts at Moscow and openly expressed my misgivings concerning the size of the units. I laid special stress upon the improbability of finding sufficient qualified managers. Even in other European countries with a higher civilization this problem would present overwhelming difficulties; in Russia I thought it insuperable. The argument I heard in Moscow which was always repeated to refute all criticism of the Russian measures was the following: the utterly different status of the Russian Communist workers in the enterprise would quickly circumvent all difficulties which in capitalistic countries might be the consequence of the larger size of the unit; the Bolshevist enlightenment of the worker would in every respect prove such an aid to the management that all such difficulties would be negligible. The mentality of the Soviet worker who regards the enterprise as his own property and not that of a hostile capitalist entrepreneur would guarantee such great advantages in production that it would be possible to cope with problems quite unmanageable in capitalist countries. The exigencies of management would be far simpler in the Soviet state, because the leading officials would always be able to rely upon the wholehearted coöperation of the workers instead of meeting with their opposition, which the Russians considered inevitable in capitalist states. The subsequent development soon proved these arguments to be fallacious. It was soon to be preceived that overexpansion of the unit entailed in Russia just the same complications as it did in any other country. The wrong size of the productive unit—this single fact is to a high degree

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responsible for the failure of the new productive types.

The Problem of Mechanization

A further mistake lay in exaggerated mechanization. It was believed that absolutely everything could be done with the help of machines, if only the tasks were approached with enough enthusiasm. The example for the mechanization of Russian agriculture was the United States. It was supposed that whatever had proved possible in the United States could also be done in Russia, and at once on a much larger scale. It was completely overlooked that two basic economic factors present in America were lacking in Russia: first of all, an extremely efficient industry and, second, men who knew how to handle machinery, thanks to prolonged training and experience. It was further overlooked that these shortcomings could not be overcome so rapidly as it was considered necessary to carry out the plans of mechanization. But the main reason why mechanization turned out a terrible failure in the new enterprises was the following: the success of the whole business was made entirely dependent upon the smooth and frictionless working of machinery throughout all branches and in every detail. The existing conditions, however, were not such as would guarantee smooth working. First of all, a trained staff was lacking and it was quite impossible to fill in this gap during the short period of development granted by the fixed plans of the government. One cannot teach utterly inexperienced men to manage complicated machinery plants at short notice. It is still more impossible to train them to handle and tend the machines with the necessary care. Herein lay a great danger for the system. Later on, serious losses resulted through the breakdown of machines because of incompetent handling and carelessness.

A third vital mistake was overspecialization. The ban on diversified farming created certain difficulties in organization: the various means of production could not be fully exploited and a certain wastage of by-products was unavoidable. Other shortcomings of single-enterprise organization became serious: in livestock farms infectious diseases spread rapidly, other ailments were rampant and it was also not easy to provide feed supplies. Arable farms saw neglect of the problem of rotating crops and the latitude which a diversified acreage provides in the distribution of seasonal labor—these and similar advantages had consciously been given up. It was hoped that these factors could be ignored because they had been considered negligible compared to the overwhelming advantages expected from specialization. But at present inefficient utilization of the means of production, wastage of by-products and the increasing menace of weeds and parasites are evident drawbacks to specialization. Finally, an important mistake was made in coördinating the farms of a particular type under one central executive, directing the management of each farm. The central executive not only controlled the organization of the units, he dictated orders to the management. This form of bureaucratic regime did great damage.

The whole course of events proved that the ruling principles of agriculture are different from those of industry and that industrial methods cannot be so simply transplanted. The first plans of organization and development of the sovhoz farms proved to have so many shortcomings that eventually basic changes were decided upon. A recognition of the fallacies of overlarge units, mechanization and specialization led to a new approach to agricultural problems. Extremist theories were abandoned and their supporters were accused of "gigantomania." The new plan started by subdividing the huge units like the "Gigant," and it scrapped the theory of 100-percent mechanization. On arable farms attempts were made to introduce rotations suitable to the local conditions of soil and climate. All these changes were dictated by the central powers.

In the long run the advantages of a more diversified form of organization for each unit could not be ignored. But the leaders could not immediately revert to methods which they had always decried as antiquated. So the farms were not at once reorganized on a diversified-farming basis—the fiction of specialization was still upheld. So-called combinate farms were formed. For instance, an arable farm and a livestock farm were located on exactly the same area; the livestock farm was, so to speak, superimposed on the grain farm. But each had separate and independent managements and each was subordinated to a different central organization, the grain farm to the grain trust and the livestock farm to the livestock trust. The fact that two entirely separate managements were to work side by side on the same acreage was of course a source of perpetual friction. These measures show that gradually a return to older forms of enterprise was being attempted, although these forms had previously been banned because of their resemblance to types of enterprise that tradition and a prolonged evolution had developed in other European countries.

Keeping Up with Efficiency

The fact that the Bolshevist theories had scarcely any effect on the mentality of the workers led to the introduction of new wage schemes combined with an intricate system of control. The efficiency of the workers had not come up to expectations and had indeed often proved quite unsatisfactory. The government at first tried to stimulate the efforts of the workers in many ways, by propaganda, by socialistic competitions, by rewards to the diligent and by public denunciation of the indolent, but the results were disappointing. So recourse was taken to a complicated system of piece-work wages as a spur to greater efficiency. All measures were carried out with the greatest energy and often with unrelenting

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severity, but the downward trend was not to be checked.

Collapse of Large-Scale Production

In the meantime the establishment of the sovhoz enterprises occasioned great losses in production. These new units were by no means always founded in hitherto unexploited districts; often they were placed in well settled regions. In the case of the livestock farms, frequent levies were made upon the livestock of the peasants, which the government sought to mobilize for the new units. So instead of creating new production, existent stock was, not without loss, collected and reorganized in new enterprises. In the case of the arable farms the then existing forms of production in cultivated areas were often forcibly suppressed. Whole villages were evacuated and buildings torn down to make room for the great mechanized units. All this meant destruction of existing production in the interest of the new enterprises. As a result, the great gaps made in the old agricultural system had first of all to be refilled before the expected surplus could be restored.

The shortcomings of the new units were not evident in the first year. Newly purchased foreign machines of high quality were employed. Inefficient cultivation had not yet favored the growth of weeds. But the difficulties increased from year to year. The machines broke down; spare parts were urgently needed, but the supply was badly organized and utterly failed to meet the requirements. On the other hand, the need for increased production forced the management into faulty measures; an increase in acreage was demanded. In view of the inadequate means of production, poorly trained personnel and frequently incompetent management, expansion of acreage could only be attained at the cost of the quality of the work done. Among the central executives real experts were scarce, so the ability to judge the quality of the work of the units was lacking. As a result the completion of a certain acreage quota was almost the only criterion of efficiency. Consequently, often the most capable farm managers suffered injustice. For if they quite rightly preferred to sow 80 percent of the quota and do the work thoroughly instead of doing 100 percent hastily and carelessly and thereby jeopardizing the crop from the very outset, they were penalized. But incapable men who carried out the stipulated quota by haphazard and slovenly methods were promoted. Often the most efficient men were imprisoned, exiled or degraded and the number of really competent managers was constantly thinned out. The yields per acre decreased from year to year; the growth of weeds increased to such an extent that they proved a serious hindrance to the employment of machinery. This was fatal to enterprises in which the full use of machinery was the basic element of success. And finally, the growing difficulties of the labor question further complicated the situation.

At the outset the great mechanized estates were not entirely dependent upon machinery. There was an ample supply of labor available, including draft animal power with implement equipment. The "Gigant," for example, employed in the years 1928 to 1929 more human labor per acre than is normally used on the large estates of eastern Germany. But with the development of the state farms and the advance of collective farming the labor supply disappeared. It even became increasingly difficult to keep the regular workers on the farms, because it was often impossible to provide them with the bare necessities of life. These enterprises were so short of food supplies that the workers were driven by hunger to abandon their posts and seek better conditions elsewhere. When asked why they left their jobs these people would always answer, because we had not enough to live, because our children died of starvation and because privation made us too weak to work. Thus the laborers constantly abandoned their posts. Their work remains undone, and they themselves have no alternative but to submit to the same wretchedness somewhere else. This is the terrible picture that confronts the student of the Russian countryside. As a result of the exodus of labor weeds smother the scanty crops which cannot be harvested because of the shortage of workers. As was to be foreseen, the state has retaliated by further curtailing the liberty of the already restricted Russian laborer. Violent measures have been practised to extort food from the countryside in order to feed the town population, the army and the G.P.U. and also to gain an export surplus necessary to supply the much needed *valuta*.

The Decline in Output

The development of the large units has by no means fulfilled expectations. A marked drop in the output was the result of constructive faults, artificial speeding-up, overexpansion, incompetent management and useless meddling on the part of the central executives. The decline in the yield per acre is so marked that the total agricultural output of Russia is diminishing notwithstanding a vastly increased acreage. This unfavorable trend cannot be checked simply by placing drastic restrictions upon the freedom of the workers or by the unrelenting persecution of the managers who fail to perform tasks which cannot possibly be done efficiently. The Russian state enterprises on which such high hopes were placed have failed to prove themselves superior to the forms of economic enterprise of the so-called capitalistic countries. Later on, the question must be broached whether this failure is the result of faulty management or whether it inevitably arises from fundamentally unsound theories.

Hans Zörner.

This is the first of two articles written as a result of an investigation of the system of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.—The Editors.

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Yachts without Income

NOT FOR some time has the average citizen been so befuddled. He always supposed that Mr. Morgan and his partners were among the richest men in the United States, living like kings on a scale of grandeur incomprehensible to common folks. Now it appears that neither Mr. Morgan nor any of his partners had any income upon which to pay income taxes during 1931 or 1932. Next he reads a newspaper report which states that Mr. Morgan spent about two and a half million dollars upon a yacht during one of the very years when he was too poor to contribute anything to the government. Strangest of all perhaps, Mr. Morgan paid a tax to the British government when he had nothing on which to pay in his own country.

The average citizen probably draws either one or both of two conclusions: (1) that Mr. Morgan is a crooked rascal who should be behind the bars and (2) that the income tax is no good, too easy for the big fellows with their high-priced lawyers to evade.

The truth is that neither of these two conclusions is a fair deduction from the facts. It is not inconceivable that Mr. Morgan and his disciples have not always kept all of the ten commandments. But there is nothing in the revelations regarding Mr. Morgan's taxes to prove it. It is possible, too, that the income tax is not altogether a barren field for lawyers expert in finding holes through which their clients may crawl to evade their legitimate contributions to government. But the Morgan disclosure does not prove even this.

The simple explanation is that the federal income tax was deliberately drawn to include capital gains as income and to allow capital losses as an offset against all other receipts. A capital gain occurs when an individual sells a stock or a bond or real estate which he has purchased either as an investment or a speculation and sells it for more than he paid for it. And a capital loss occurs when he sells for less than the purchase price. If anyone is to be blamed for what has happened it is Congress and not Mr. Morgan.

Now when this is explained to the average citizen he is likely to respond with a complete exoneration of both Mr. Morgan and the income-tax law. If Mr. Morgan really had all of these losses he is deserving of sympathy rather than blame. But after all where did he get the money to build this magnificent yacht?

It is conceivable that Mr. Morgan built his yacht out of capital, the accumulations of previous years. It is more likely, however, that he financed this venture out of his current income. It goes without proving that he has had a very large current income even during this depression. Not all of his investments failed to pay interest and dividends. And there was his share of the commissions which were reaped by the partnership.

There are at least two quite distinct kinds of income recognized by the federal income-tax law. This can be made clear, perhaps, by the use of a simple illustration. Suppose we assume the case of two successful physicians who have had, we will say, a regular income from their professions of $100,000 a year during the last ten years. One of the two physicians, Dr. Jones, has spent all of his income each year. The other, Dr. Smith, has made it a rule to invest 20 percent of his earnings. Ignoring the interest from the investments, this would mean that by 1933, Dr. Smith would have invested $200,000. Toward the close of 1932, let us say, he decides to sell his securities either to realize ready cash or to buy other securities. He sells his holdings for $100,000. He has realized a $100,000 capital loss.

This $100,000 capital loss may be offset against the $100,000 income which Dr. Smith earned in his profession. Thus as our law now stands, Smith will have no taxable income for 1932 and no taxes to pay in 1933. Dr. Jones will show his usual income of $100,000. This does not mean, of course, that Dr. Smith has nothing with which to pay his current bills, including tax bills. On the contrary, he has quite as much money to spend as ever and except for what he lays aside for new investments quite as much money to spend as Dr. Jones. He may even decide to build a yacht in 1933. But he has nothing on which the government can require him to pay taxes.

Now there are plenty of good social reasons why Dr. Smith should pay some taxes in 1933 on his 1932 income. It may happen that in 1933 the government faces an emergency and is trying desperately to balance its budget. The government may be very much embarrassed by the fact that it can collect nothing from the many Dr. Smiths in spite of their obvious ability to pay. At a time when many who normally have an income have nothing with which or upon which to pay taxes, a large number with abundant income will go entirely untaxed. The Dr. Joneses, too, may complain bitterly when they find that they are called upon to support the government not only as usual but with additional emergency rates of taxation while the Smiths, who are no less prosperous, have nothing to pay.

It will be said, of course, that we have presented only half of the picture; that had Dr. Smith disposed of his securities in 1929 he might have realized a large capital gain. The government would then have had its innings and Smith would have had much more taxes to pay than Jones. This is true. But it does not alter the fact that in 1933, when taxes are most needed, the government has less even than the true current income of its citizens to tax.

Looking at the federal income-tax figures, it is easy to see what havoc the capital gains and losses feature of our income tax has played with the national revenues. The national income has dropped from 40 to 60 percent below the peak, according to various estimates. On the other hand our income-

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tax base has so shrunk that with the 1928 rates and exemptions our individual income-tax receipts for 1933 were estimated at only about one-eighth of the 1929 receipts. A large share of this disproportionate drop must be due to our method of treating capital gains and losses under the tax law.

What is to be done about this situation? Several alternatives suggest themselves. One is to ignore capital gains and losses entirely in taxing income. This is what the British do. However, this alternative is open to the objection that speculative gains are allowed to go untaxed. They represent ability to pay of the first order. A nation which has no unearned-increment taxes cannot lightly consent to ignore this kind of ability when it taxes income.

A second alternative is to tax only capital gains and ignore capital losses. It may not be unjust to tax A's good fortune and pay no attention to B's misfortune. We do this in other taxes. But it does seem unjust to tax A upon his fortunate ventures without taking some account of his unfortunate ones.

This brings us to a third alternative which is to separate income into two classes, capital gains and other income. For purposes of simplifying administration and of graduating the rates, the two bases may be combined to calculate an individual's tax bill. However, it should be recognized that these two species of income must not be crossed so that capital losses may be offset against anything but capital gains.

A precedent for this procedure was established in the Revenue Act of 1932, when income was so classified that losses on securities held less than two years were allowed as an offset only against similar gains. It would be simple and feasible to extend this same rule to all capital gains and losses.

The principal problem arising under this alternative is that of the period during which offsets are to apply. Capital losses of a given year may be allowed as an offset against *capital* gains of the same year; or net capital losses of a given year may be allowed as an offset against *capital* gains of the next three or five years. There is much to be said for the latter of these procedures, since losses and gains are periodic and a single year is too short to cover the periodic fluctuations. It is important to point out, however, that future losses should not be allowed as an offset against past gains, but only present losses against future gains. To do otherwise would involve the government in wholesale refunding of taxes and would produce a high degree of fluctuation in federal revenues. The offsets would occur during depression periods whereas prosperity is the strategic time to apply them.

Since the Morgan incident there has been talk about shortening the period during which losses are allowed as an offset against gains. The unsoundness of our present law lies not in the period during which losses are good for offset; rather it lies in the fact that one kind of loss is offset against another kind of gain. Unless this fact is clearly recognized and acted upon, we may still expect to see our millionaires building expensive yachts out of current income while an impoverished government collects no taxes from them whatever.

HAROLD M. GROVES.

Getting the Jews out of Germany

THE CORRIDOR of the Jewish Help Verein on Oranienburgstrasse is crowded, though it is only nine o'clock. This is the place where Jews come from all over Germany to see how they may escape from the country. I have a letter to the chief of the bureau. It has been suggested that I spend a morning sitting by him and watching what happens as people come to him to have their problems solved. I try to present my letter. It is not possible.

"You will have to wait your turn," says the guardian at the door. "We cannot take people out of turn." I try to explain I have not come to be helped out of Germany, but to see the procedure at the suggestion of the Help Verein.

It is no use. The doorman is kind but firm. I sit down in a chair in the congested hall. I look down the line of strained, anxious faces. Here are assembled Jews from all classes: there are delicate, intellectual faces, there are beautiful, carefully dressed women, there are Jews from all professions and all classes. There are here people so blond—so German in aspect—that you would never guess their nationality sitting side by side with the most pronounced Hebraic types. The men and women, the boys and girls have one thing in common—their lives have been destroyed; their place in the world has been taken from them from one moment to another. Their security is gone, their situation in Germany rendered so bad that exile is the only alternative. Here in the hall is the human debris of the cold pogrom which rates Jews as subhuman.

I see very soon why the doorman would not read my card or listen to my explanation. Half the people in the corridor, driven by acute anxiety, are trying to be special cases—are trying to get past the door out of turn. Beside me sits a beautiful old woman. She stares ahead of her. She doesn't move. She waits. On the other side is a young boy, who explains that he has been let go from his job by his employer without warning. To be sent off without warning means that you cannot come on the

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dole. People in Germany are usually dismissed without notice only if they are dishonest.

"In the best of times it would be hard for me to find employment again," he says, "but now a Jew, once dismissed, can *never* hope again to get a job in Germany." This is how the cold pogrom works. Papers throughout the country advertise "Dismiss your Jewish help and employ Aryans."

"My employer did not want to dismiss me," the boy said, "but one day two Storm Troopers came and asked him why he was employing Jews when Germans needed jobs. He got frightened and let me and the other boy go at once. The other boy went home; I had no home." So this boy had been drifting around and trying to accumulate his fare to Denmark where he has cousins, who do not want him any too much.

"It will be better than this," he says bleakly. *"There is no hope in Germany for any Jew out of work."* There is little hope in Germany for any Jew.

There are always newcomers in the line of misery. Always the trickle which go into the first room, come out, wait their turns to go into the final room. People wait here for days—come back again and wait and still wait.

This is only a link in the improvised machinery which takes care of the uncalculable disaster which has overwhelmed German Jewry—a disaster which came as suddenly and unexpectedly as an earthquake and has been so far-reaching in its consequences that one can say that there is not a single Jew who has not been personally affected.

This office takes care of the exiles—the outward bound of all Germany. Another bureau in the Martin Luther Strasse takes care of the Berlin fugitives. These two bureaus, of course, are for those who need financial assistance to escape. It takes no account of the thousands who have been able to escape without financial aid. There are other bureaus which give help and advice and, if possible, work, to those who are not trying to leave the country but have been deprived of work, or to those whose business has been ruined.

At first when one is in Germany and sees with what masterly skill the National Socialists have manipulated the minds of their fellow countrymen, one cannot understand why they should be so blind in their foreign policy; why should they outrage the public opinion of the world in the treatment of the Jews. Later, one realizes that the hatred of the Jew is the core of Nazi philosophy. The Jew is not merely a stranger, an emigrant who has happened to settle in a country where he becomes a citizen. The Jew in the minds of Hitler and his followers is a cancer in the body politic. The Jew is an internationalist and a Bolshevik and a wrecker of nations. He belongs to an international conspiracy of Jewry which exists only to sow dissension in the lands in which Jews live for their own advantage. The Nazis believe that the Jews have destroyed Russia, as they were attempting to destroy Germany—as they are attempting to destroy England. Meantime, in the cultural field, the Jew, by his books, by his teaching, by his directing of pictures and plays, is poisoning the minds of the people —poisoning the wellsprings of thought and of culture. The Jew, moreover, had seized the money power of the countries in which he lived. The Jew was the one who was to be blamed for defeat in the War. The Jew, in the minds of the Nazis, is scarcely to be considered human. He is a disease, to be treated as such and to be got rid of. Meanwhile, the individual Nazi is not impervious to human pity. Göring recently exclaimed, "They say there are only 600,000 Jews in Germany; there must be 16 million. There are that many Nazis and each one has a pet Jew of whom he wants to make an exception."

Among my Jewish friends none had been tortured or treated with any other indignity than having the usual *"Jude"* smeared on his store windows on boycott day, but their families were being disrupted and disintegrated by the relentless persecution.

Shortly before I left Germany, an article appeared in a paper demanding that no more Jewish doctors be allowed at all. Doctors, it said, stand in close relation to their patients and Christian German women were constantly having their minds poisoned by Jewish physicians!

"These exaggerations," said an editorial comment, "make a bad impression abroad." One of the news services carried the story of the doctors and was immediately censored. An unusual insight was shown by this remark, for the Nazi usually is as surprised by the concern and indignation expressed abroad over the persecution of the Jews as one might be at having a neighbor bring in the S.P.C.A. because one was fumigating vermin. Propaganda of one kind or another continues without ceasing. The purity of German blood must be maintained. For the foundation stone of the Völkische state of the Nazis is that of Race and Blood. The Jew is pictured as enfeebling the virile German race by mixing his inferior oriental blood with it. It is propaganda like this which keeps this stream of misery pouring ceaselessly through the halls of the Oranienburgstrasse.

It is my turn at last. "Is your passport in order?" a girl asks me. "Unless your papers are in order we can do nothing for you!"

I have difficulty in convincing her I have not come for help. I am apparently the first outsider who has been here. At last I am allowed inside. The head of the bureau is a sensitive man, full of tact and pity. The first emigrant who comes in is of middle age and is very German in appearance. He comes from the neighborhood of Breslau.

"I have had my own business for twenty-four years, poultry and game," he says. He shows me a letterhead with its little woodcut. "Twenty-four years my own business and now I am ruined!"

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"The boycott ruined him," the chief explained. "No one dares to buy from him any more."

"Old customers come to me privately and tell me how sorry they are, but they are afraid that they will be marked by the Storm Troopers."

He is lucky—he has a small job waiting for him in the Saar with a friend in a business like his own. He has no money left. His store was smashed during the boycott, his stock wrecked or stolen.

It is small people like this who are suffering and are continuing to suffer. The big department stores, Israels, Teitz, Wertheimer, as yet go on unmolested. They have not even been required to dismiss their Jewish employees, though they have had Nazi emissaries inform them that the "program concerning department stores is to be carried out in full." Especially the Nazis dislike the grocery departments and any manufacturing in connection with the department stores. Though outwardly the department stores are allowed to go on and Nazis shop in them freely, Jewish stores are discriminated against. No government agency, hospital, school, etc., may buy goods of Jewish manufacture or through Jewish agencies.

Wealthy Jews may go outside the country only on condition of leaving most of their money behind. Jews with property have to put up a large proportionate bond before leaving, even for a visit. From them come the funds for their unfortunate, ruined compatriots.

A middle-aged man with fine features who does not seem to be Jewish at all is the next applicant. "I do not see what we can do—you cannot get your permit for France or England. Maybe you could go to Palestine," says the chief.

"I could not afford that." The chief suggests something in a low voice. "I will not be a beggar," says the man turning away.

"That is the hardest type we have. He is a man without a country. He remained too long on the Polish side of Silesia, hoping to have his German citizenship. He lost that, yet he is not a Pole. He is a great violinist—an artist. He has been for years first violinist in a great orchestra; now he is not allowed to play any more, and he has no nationality. He has only what is known as a Fremden pass. No country wants these people without citizenship—no one protects them."

"Are there many men without a country?"

"Hundreds," said the chief. "We don't know what we can do to help them."

A fine-looking Russian followed. He too was in a bad situation. He had fled the Bolsheviks in Russia, and now their opposites, the Nazis, were chasing him out. Spain was his destination.

Over two hundred a day are cleared through this office. Some go to jobs; some go to relatives, and a great number merely go to another country. If you are at once a Jew and a workingman suspected of Communism, nothing but flight is possible. There is a peculiar hopelessness for the many who leave without any jobs provided for them. What will they do? How will they live? There are no jobs. No one wants them. France and Holland have been magnificently generous to these fugitives. Switzerland less so, but there is a limit to the numbers which these countries can absorb. It has been estimated that 10 percent of the Jewish population has fled already and that in France alone there are 25,000.

It is not the ruining of business that is the worst; it is the attack on the very essence of a person's ability to live, the assault on their essential pride, that is the cruel part of the whole thing. Hundreds of thousands of people who have thought of themselves as Germans now are degraded to untouchables. They are shunted back to the Ghetto. They are Jim Crowed in professions and business. Worst of all, their children are tormented in the schools and come home crying to be Christians. The mental torture of the Jews in Germany today is a hundred times more horrible than any beating or physical humiliation.

Take the case of a family with whom I am well acquainted. It is a family of middle-class people, music lovers, people of culture. They have two married daughters whose young husbands were doing well in their professions. One young couple, completely ruined, are now fugitives in Paris. The other daughter's husband, a lawyer, has lost his entire practice, which was largely among American firms.

Permitting Jewish lawyers to practise is very largely a farce, as cases are tried by lawyers in Storm Troop uniform and the uniform carries weight. In this same family there have been two suicides. A cousin was arrested while proceeding over the Swiss border with 30,000 marks, which, though they were his own, it was illegal for him to take out of the country. He committed suicide in jail by opening the veins of his arm. Another distant cousin committed suicide by taking gas, having been ruined by the boycott. The case of my friends is typical of middle-class Jewish families—not one has completely escaped.

"All we are doing," said the head of one of the relief bureaus, "is only palliative. It does not touch the heart of the Jewish problem of how we are to exist in Germany. The Jewish persecution has thrown in brilliant relief the fact that the majority of the Jews are massed in professional or business occupations; we have appallingly few handicraft and industrial workers. Still fewer Jews are employed on the land. We have to reëducate our whole population and bring them back to a saner distribution among the various occupations. Recently I had a request for fifty Jewish stocking-knitters from a Jewish factory in the Saar. In all Berlin I was unable to fill this order. Not a day passes that I do not get letters from Jews in Denmark, Holland and other countries offering positions in industry for which I have no workers. Our people buy and sell; they take positions in business; they

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study for the professions. The whole system in Jewry is unbalanced."

So an effort will be made to reorient the Jews. We can see the same top-heaviness in America today—the undue emphasis placed on professions by the Jewish people. One of the strengths of the Hitler philosophy is the revaluation made of all kinds of work which is dispelling the desire of every parent to have his child enter the white-collar class.

One of the strangest phenomena in the whole situation is that of the so-called "Nationalist Jews." They are the Jewish followers of Hitler, who hope, by praising the Nazi regime and reflecting that not a "hair of a Jew's head has been harmed," that they may become acceptable. This pusillanimous group publishes a paper which glorifies Hitler.

It is interesting to speculate on the psychological causes of the Jewish persecutions. It was more than envy which has made "German Awake! Crush the Jews!" one of the Nazi war cries. It is not only that one percent of the population own 10 percent or more of the wealth; or that there was a vastly disproportionate number of Jews among the professions. There is something stimulating in having an enemy to hate, visible before you. The young Nazi was given two visible enemies—the Jew and the "Marxist," and the two could be interchangeable. These challenged the integrity of his blood, and of his country, and it was his duty to root them out, to pursue them with relentless hate as being enemies of all that was most valuable and precious in his national and social life. You could, by this means, indulge two of man's most satisfactory interests—that of feeling superior and the righteous joy in destroying the mortal enemy, at the same time gratifying the sadistic impulse that lurks in man. For a robust appetite for torture seems to be one of our deep-rooted characteristics. Pity and mercy are frail latecomers on the scene.

Berlin. MARY HEATON VORSE.

Vilfredo Pareto

The Marx of the Middle Classes

FASCISM like Communism has a major prophet and a scripture. The prophet is Vilfredo Pareto, the famous Italian economist and sociologist; the scripture is his *chef d'oeuvre*, the "Trattato di Sociologia Generale." With the tide of Fascism rising higher in Europe and threatening our shores, it is significant that an extravagant estimate of Pareto's work should appear in this country at this time and a translation of his book have been announced for publication this fall.[1]

American readers may be inclined to accept Pareto's work at his own valuation as pure scientific goods and deem it accidental that his ideas have served as propaganda for the Fascist cause. But an examination of his writings and their history makes it difficult to ratify the protestations of political purity on the part of Pareto and his disciples.

Pareto's reputation as an economist rests upon two achievements. The first was his mathematical demonstration that the curve representing the distribution of incomes in our present capitalist economy is sensibly constant. F. R. Macaulay and others have since pointed out that the mathematics and statistics supporting this iron law are both inaccurate and inadequate. The law, for example, deviates greatly from the curve of income distribution in the United States and holds good elsewhere only so long as fundamental property relations suffer no radical change or interference.

The second was his extension of the mathematical economics of Walras, the leading member of the Lausanne school. The economics of this school was of the pure laissez-faire type, rendered even purer by the mathematical terms in which it was expressed. It was elaborated upon the incredible hypothesis that the production, exchange and consumption of goods was carried on at a maximum efficiency in a world of free competition and free prices. The economic system existed in a state of equilibrium and the task of the economist was to analyze and measure the various factors composing this equilibrium.

The resultant laws of this school of political economy, familiar to American students in the work of Jevons, Alfred Marshall, John Bates Clark and others, exist on so high a plane of abstraction that it is impossible to tie them down to any specific economic phenomena. They have only the remotest connection with the real capitalist world of class societies and imperialist states, overproduction and recurrent crises, unstable currencies and price-fixing schemes, tariff barriers and monopolies. They are, in Bacon's phrase, "barren virgins." Their unacknowledged premise that there was nothing fundamentally wrong or unjust about the operation of the price system; that society was already economically mature and except for necessary minor repairs might run on thus forever, has caused the theoretical discussions of this school to fall into general disrepute.

Pareto himself did not dispute the conservative assumptions of this economics; he merely widened

[1] See "A Primer for Intellectuals," by Bernard DeVoto, in The Saturday Review of Literature for April 22. The English translation of the "Trattato" will be published this fall or winter by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

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its horizon, bringing within the scope of his advanced algebraic technique of functional indices the phenomena of supply and demand in two more developed types of equilibrated economic systems, the ideal states of monopoly and collectivism. Since no perfectly ordered and controlled systems of this type exist in the balanced state in which Pareto considered them, his economics shares the irrelevance to actual affairs common to the Lausanne school. As he himself confesses, he was engaged in constructing a non-Euclidean economics, which might or might not apply to the present state of society.

The "Treatise on General Sociology," the crowning work of Pareto's career, was completed just before the outbreak of the World War, although its publication was delayed until 1916. It is a monumental work on the order of Spengler's "Decline of the West," a formless and formidable tome of almost 2,000 pages in which a prodigious mass of learning covers a few comparatively simple ideas. It is an exceedingly difficult book to read, for, despite the author's fondness for dividing and subdividing his material, the argument is not carried on consecutively and logically, and often the most important ideas will be found buried in the footnotes.

The "treatise" has a double root in Pareto's pure economics and his criticism of Socialism. As the logical complement of his economics, it partakes of the same defects: a lack of realistic analysis in its thought despite the wealth of concrete data that documents it, an indifference to the underlying socio-economic conditions which determine human thought and activity, and a foredoomed attempt to apply mathematical methods to subject matter too complex, too much in constant, reciprocal and unpredictable transformation to be amenable to fruitful treatment by that means.

Pareto's economics depended upon the activities of that familiar fictitious entity of classical economics, the economic man. The economic man was supposedly a wholly rational creature animated by a "pleasure-pain psychology" and moving in a calculated path along the line of least resistance to obtain the maximum satisfaction of his needs at the least expense. Pareto recognized the narrowly artificial character of this logical automaton and its inadequacy to explain the course of history. And yet, instead of seeking the actual social relations in which man lived and labored, he constructed for the purposes of his sociology an equally fictitious counterpart, the completely non-logical man.

The aggregate actions of this non-logical man constitute the major part of history. Except for certain "scientific" enterprises such as engineering and trading carried on in the light of actual conditions and consequences, man's behavior has been directed and dictated by irrational impulses. These impulses are the "Residues," the original biological equipment of man and the powerful cementing forces of society. They compose the "Platonically real" and general form of society, remaining unchanged throughout the rise and fall of the various social and ideological systems in which they find expression.

Since some of these instincts may be regarded as disreputable or issue in anti-social actions, and since reasoning itself is an instinct whose satisfaction cannot be denied, men find it necessary to conceal the real causes of their actions. They are therefore compelled to embrace an appropriate ideology or invent a set of rationalizations for that purpose. These ideologies are the "Variations." The "Variations," as the term implies, change widely from culture to culture in contradistinction to the "Residues" which are common to all men and persist unaltered. In his erudite and exhaustive treatment of this topic, Pareto illustrates by a multitude of cases how customs and complexes of feeling persist while the rationale which explains them changes, according to the cultural medium in which it flourishes. This "Theory of Variations and Residues" is considered to be Pareto's paramount contribution to sociology.

Pareto intended his "Treatise" to be the first scientific sociology, founded upon both the experimental and mathematical methods of the physical sciences. With Variations, Residues, Interests, etc., as factors, he constructs an imposing apparatus of graphs, formulas and equations to be used in an algebraic analysis of the social order. Pareto had set himself an obviously impossible task, however, and, even though he does not admit his failure, lets the enterprise lapse in the course of his work. His disciples are nevertheless still hopeful that his "mathematics of complex social variables" will be "the basis of any effort to forecast or control the development of society."

Pareto's "scientific sociology" therefore reduces itself to a social psychology of the biological variety. As such, it is open to all the objections which have been raised against similar "instinct psychologies," such as that of Professor William MacDougall. One point only is pertinent here: the fact that it systematically underestimates the power of the environment and social institutions to modify the feelings and actions of men. On this account, it can easily be employed as a weapon against any organized movement of social change in the interests of the underprivileged by giving a falsely scientific backing to a conservative or aristocratic view of society.

It so happens that Pareto's ideas have been put to this use, not so much by himself as by others. The ostensible purpose of his own sociological studies was purely scientific. But if we turn upon Pareto his own theory that men act as their feelings dictate and use ideas principally to hide the real motives of their actions, it is not unlikely that Pareto's theorizing was in part inspired by his aversion to Marxism and his desire to undermine and destroy it. He was throughout his life an ardent free-trader, defender of private property and opponent of state interference in business affairs.

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Pareto has been hailed in Fascist Italy as "the Marx of the Middle Classes." He was steeped in the literature of Marxism and borrowed generously from it. The germ of his "Theory of Residues and Variations" can be found on his own admission in the writings of Sorel on "the social myth" and his theory of "the circulation of the elite" is an offshoot of Marx's doctrines concerning "the class struggle" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is instructive to note that many of the ideas expounded presumably without political significance in the "General Sociology" will be found in his earlier work, "Systemes Socialistes," in which he attempts to demonstrate the logical contradictions and unscientific character of socialist theory and the disastrous effects of socialistic experiments. Indeed, Pareto seems to have set about to refute Marxian doctrines by creating a counter set which would oppose them at every point.

In his criticism of Marxism, Pareto proceeds by the time-honored method of "divide and rule." With the scissors of his "Theory of Derivations and Residues" he cuts Marxism into two parts, the purely economic and scientific and the "mythical" or "religious." Against the first part he launches some searching criticism from the historical standpoint of the heyday of capitalism, the late nineteenth century, in particular against the labor theory of value, the growing concentration of capital, the increasing pauperization of the working class, the disappearance of the middle class and the concept of the class struggle as essentially waged between two opposed classes, proletariat and bourgeoisie.

The "mythical" or "religious" half of Marxism, however, its prophecy of the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the inevitable triumph of the working class, does not, according to Pareto, depend upon its scientific base. To overturn the first does not mean that the second can be ignored. The effectiveness of any set of beliefs in changing society need have no connection with their scientific validity. And, even though he denied the scientific character of Marxist doctrine, Pareto admitted its pragmatic usefulness in providing an ideological justification for the aspirations of the working class.

Pareto also uses his "Theory of Derivations and Residues" to cut the ground away from under the materialist interpretation of history. He has a scorn equal to that of Marx for tender-minded idealists and political liberals who look upon ideas, *i. e.*, Derivations, as important social forces. But he likewise opposes the Marxists who see in *interests* the motive power in social change and the origin of social, political and cultural forms. The common error of both, he asserts, lies in the assumption that man ordinarily acts in his enlightened self or class interest, either materialistically or idealistically.

The motive power of history and the permanent form of society according to Pareto is generated by the instincts or "Residues." Pareto's emphasis on the large part which the forces of irrationality play in the behavior of *Massemensch* supplies a corrective to the rationalistic psychology which Marx took over from the classical political economists. The measure of truth in his observations can hardly be denied even by Marxists in the light of the resurgence of national feeling at the start of the World War and the havoc it wrought in the Social Democratic movement, and the rise and antics of National Socialist parties since. Pareto errs in overlooking the historical and economic origins of the sentiment of nationality in the birth of the middle class and its continued usefulness in furthering the interests of that class. He wraps it instead in the metaphysical and abstract form of a "persistent instinct of aggregation," ignoring the causes of the particular forms it assumes.

Against the Marxian division of society into two classes, Pareto maintains that society is heterogeneous. There is not a single class struggle, but many contending classes, in the modern democratic state. The equilibrium of the social order is upset, not by the warfare of one class with another, but by "the circulation of the elite." The "elite" consist of a minority of strong, determined men, aristocratic in nature but usually recruited by a rigorous process of natural selection from the lower classes. Since the masses are stupid, helpless and ignorant of their real interests, the "elite" can use them for their own ends. And, as the ruling class, the old "elite," becomes weak and sentimental, the new "elite," who will stop at nothing, not even the use of force, to attain their goal, is destined to rise to power. The Nazis have recently given currency to this notion, fusing it with the biological myth of Aryan supremacy.

Pareto coupled this doctrine of "the circulation of the elite" with a semi-Spenglerian theory of oscillating "social cycles," and by analogy with the Catilinian conspiracies in the last days of the Roman Republic predicted that the corrupt rule of "the demagogic plutocracy" by democratic and parliamentary means was bound to be overthrown by a new "elite" of experts in statecraft who would rule the people for their own good.

The usefulness of these teachings to a Fascist movement is obvious—and, when Mussolini listened to Pareto's lectures in Switzerland during his wartime exile, he was not slow to realize that fact. After he had installed himself in power, he acknowledged that Pareto had converted him from Socialism and in recognition of his ideological services made him a Fascist Senator. If we may be skeptical of the reasons Mussolini gives for his conversion, we would only be hearkening to Pareto's own teaching that men seize upon what ideologies are at hand to mask the real reasons for their actions. In accepting the honor, Pareto showed himself not averse to the fact that his doctrines provided the perfect intellectual justification for Fascism.

Social scientists like Pareto occupy an ambiguous position. On the one hand they are bound by the ethics and training of their profession to seek "the

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truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." On the other hand they are exposed to the same special interests and irrational influences that beset other mortals. In his "General Sociology" Pareto elaborated a logic of scientific method for the sociologist to follow which involved the complete separation of theory and practice, a pure positivism which sought only to discover the uniformities observable in society and to describe them in mathematically precise terms. The search for social laws was to be a totally different task from the quest for social good.

Like many high-minded scholars before him and since, Pareto believed that he and the members of his professional group could form an exception to his own historical findings and social theory. They alone as scientific investigators were "above the battle" and able to observe and report it dispassionately.

That Pareto's ideas were pressed into the service of the Fascist cause, we might ascribe to Mussolini's "profound misunderstanding of Pareto's conclusions," although Il Duce could certainly not have misused Marx's doctrines in that fashion. That Pareto in his actual life did not quite conform to the political purity demanded by his theory of scientific method, we might perhaps lay to the weakness of the flesh. Might it not also be witness to the fact which Marx is so persistent in pointing out, that our social ideas and attitudes have unavoidable implications in action; that we are all willy-nilly involved in the class struggle and cannot elevate ourselves above it, except to poise in thought the alternatives of action?

GEORGE E. NOVACK.

Washington Notes

Rounding the Corner on Two Wheels—Job-Hunters—Six Delegates in Search of a Program—Hull Down in London

DURING the next six months the most vital issue in this country quite obviously will be the wisdom with which the new policies and powers of the administration are applied. Those parts of the program which have the preponderance of public approval are quite evidently the federal regulation of private business and agriculture, coupled with public works and inflation. It must, however, be clear to anyone that the unmistakable recovery made in the past two months cannot be attributed wholly to the program, practically none of which has yet gone into effect. To a large extent it has been in anticipation of the program and is, to a considerable degree, due to the confidence inspired by the boldness of Mr. Roosevelt in handling the crisis which confronted him when he took office.

Perhaps it is true that things then could go no lower and if they moved at all an upward direction was the only one that was left. At any rate, with the enactment of the economy act, the successful handling of the banking situation and the passage of the beer bill, the upgrade movement got under way, even before most of the program was presented. The argument of the administration—and it seems sound enough—is that the program is essential to complete the recovery and to prevent a relapse. Well founded as this idea is, however, I still contend that upon the manner in which the plans are put into operation hinges the success or failure of the whole experiment.

For this reason the efforts of Democratic Senators, particularly from the South, supplemented by those of the indefatigable Farley, to load up both old and new departments with party hacks and has-beens is fraught with no small amount of peril. The success of Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi in forcing the appointment of the dumb and discredited ex-Governor Bilbo upon the farm administration, is an example. There have been a good many others. Probably the most active and successful Senator in this business of placing party adherents is Mr. McAdoo of California. From the purely political angle he probably deserves special consideration, but when one reflects upon the number of key men he has landed in important posts, including Mr. Dan Roper, Secretary of Commerce, it does seem that Mr. McAdoo has had his share and can afford to relax.

One expected, too, that with the adjournment of Congress there would be a general relaxation of senatorial and House pressure for jobs. Instead, it seems to have redoubled, and has reached a point now where, unless Mr. Roosevelt himself supports the resistance of his department heads, the effectiveness of his whole scheme is threatened. The two Cabinet members who have shown greatest firmness in this matter are Secretary of the Interior Ickes and Secretary of Labor Perkins. As a result there is a little bad feeling between them and Mr. Farley, who, while maintaining personally pleasant relations, has not hesitated to pass the buck to them as a matter of self-protection against the savagely hungry place-hunters who besiege him.

For the past week or so domestic difficulties of this character have been more or less obscured by foreign developments. There seems some truth in the argument that Mr. Roosevelt's refusal to agree to the gold declaration, framed after Professor Moley arrived and with his assistance, was essential to the success of his domestic program. A good many thoughtful men, who are not wholly in accord with that program, agree he was justified in following out his policy once he had embarked upon it. However, I have been unable to find anyone who can reconcile his final pronouncement upon currency stabilization with his attitude and utterances on this subject during the preliminary conversations here with the representatives of eleven foreign nations, with his own representatives before they sailed or in his dramatic appeal to the world at large for concord, coöperation and conciliation. Exactly what happened to Mr. Roosevelt to cause him to change his mind after he went aboard the "Amberjack II," or whose advice he finally took in sending to the conference so Hearstlike a declaration of his position, is anything but clear. What is certain is that he held no such ideas when the American delegation sailed, or when Professor Moley saw him just before his departure with "Special Adviser" Swope.

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Mr. Roosevelt has been criticized—and I think justly—for sending to the Conference in the first place a delegation in which there was not a single man well equipped for dealing with the sort of situation that was certain to confront him. There was not one member of the delegation with a sufficient understanding of monetary questions to enable him to hold his own in a discussion. But, even more, in my opinion, the President is open to attack for the extraordinary way in which he added to their befuddlement and embarrassment by withholding from the delegation what was in his mind. They were out of contact with him at the critical times. They were unable to gain from Professor Moley when he arrived any enlightenment as to what course the President wanted them to pursue. They were unable to speak with authority on any vital question and were left up in the air even as to the direction they should take.

The result, of course, was humiliation for the delegation. From the start, they occupied an absurd and uncomfortable position and were the targets for the shafts of both politicians and publicists. To add to the absurdity, the delegation was divided on various issues. Some went one way, some another. Senator Couzens took a contrary view on the tariff to that which Secretary of State Hull had laid down as an American objective. Senator Pittman presented a silver proposal with which other members of the delegation were not in accord. The whole thing was a mess and certainly America never cut a poorer figure at an international gathering. Right as the President may have been in his refusal to join in any temporary currency-stabilization agreement, neither the method of his refusal nor the treatment of his representatives can well be defended. The only completely delighted person in the country appears to be Mr. William Randolph Hearst, who daily assaults Mr. Hull for his tariff views and naturally rejoices at the rage of the French.

It is impossible, it seems to me, that the members of the delegation—at least those of any sensitivity—should not feel hurt and resentful. Sympathy here is felt particularly for Mr. Hull, who is a man of high character and deep earnestness, who believed there was a chance at the conference to break down the tariff barriers and was convinced he had the complete confidence of his chief. He found himself repudiated and even superseded. The publicity attending Professor Moley's departure could be given no other interpretation, notwithstanding his modest disclaimers.

The question arises as to whether, considering all the circumstances, Mr. Hull will remain in the Cabinet, and there has already been some discussion of a probable successor. My guess, however, is that he will stay and the reason for this belief is the personal charm of Mr. Roosevelt. Upon Mr. Hull's return the President will explain things to him. In the matter of such explanations Mr. Roosevelt is superb. If he wants Mr. Hull to remain, I think he will. The President will be affectionate and regretful, conciliatory and convincing. He will, if he wants Mr. Hull to stay, appeal on the grounds of an old friendship, and in such a way that a much harder-boiled man than Mr. Hull would be mollified. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt will mean most of what he says to Mr. Hull, if he wants him to stay. The fact, however, remains that he treated his Secretary of State with scant consideration for his feelings and no regard for his reputation.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Getting Round the Banking Bill—Sleight-of-Hand by Morgan—Making the Law Air-Tight —What Price Cement?

THE DRAMATIC prologue to the New Deal—which consisted in the enactment of many bills—now gives way to the more prosaic business of getting those acts enforced. It will be interesting and important to watch the processes by which the new securities bill and the new banking bill are observed by the bankers to whom both apply. What is the House of Morgan going to do? That is the question which is most often asked. And rumors which spread through Wall Street begin to afford some inkling of what they may do. After all, the Senate investigation did result in the passage of the banking bill with its provision which proposes to drive the Morgan firm—with all its power—out of either the banking business or the securities business. Whether the act will become effective in fact or not, it is true that Congress has struck a blow at this powerful house. While I freely give the fullest credit to Congress for passing this bill, I think we ought not to deceive ourselves with the notion that it will be effective.

The bald requirement for the demobilization of affiliates within one year contained in section 5C will certainly not achieve that divorcement of commercial banks from investment banking which Congress had in mind. The pyramided holding company will enable bank promoters to accomplish everything the affiliate could accomplish. And the control by investment bankers of bank directorates will continue to be equally effective. It is amazing that Congress did nothing to forbid this in the face of the long standing, well known and mischievous practice of investment-banker control of banks. Samuel Untermyer and the Pujo Committee explored the subject twenty years ago and denounced it. And only a few months ago the chairman of the board of one of the greatest New York banks, which had sinned both with regard to the affiliate and in the matter of alliances with investment-banker directors, had raised his voice against the system, had not only announced the abandonment of its own affiliate, but the ejection of its security-merchant directors.

Under the new law the House of Morgan must decide within a year to go out of either the investment-security business or the commercial banking business. The same law compels the powerful First National Bank to demobilize its affiliate, the First Security Company. Now we hear that both these operations will be carried out in a way which will really result in little difference in the present state of affairs. Morgan and Company will go out of the banking business. The First National will go out of the security business. Morgan and Company will turn over to the First National its more than $350 million of deposits. The First National will turn over to Morgan its security affiliate.

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But as the bank has always been considered merely as an annex of the House of Morgan anyhow, it is difficult to see how the Morgans will really be out of the banking business or the First National out of the security business save as one of those pleasant fictions with which we consciously delude ourselves in the field of banking and corporation law.

It is easy to see what will happen. It will now be more important than ever for investment bankers to get and hold possession of banks.

If we really believe that commercial banking and investment banking should be divorced, the President should name a few real experts to devise the necessary legislation after a study of all the subterfuges by which the public intention can be defeated and report to Congress when it meets in January. I am willing to concede, however, that in the present state of our corporation laws and business ethics this will prove very difficult. I sometimes wonder why the great House of Morgan does not do something about this. After all, its members have reaped rich rewards out of this great country. Even though it may think of itself as proof against the weaknesses which lure smaller men into error, it cannot close its eyes to the fact that there are plenty of smaller men and that, as long as the Morgan firm insists upon using these dangerous prerogatives, the smaller fry will also use them. Does it not owe, if it is sincere in its pretensions, a high example to the banking world in which it occupies first place? It may be that security from the abuses of bad banking lies in the development of better ethics. What hope is there of this if the great and powerful among the bankers continue to think themselves free from the restraints which have to be imposed upon the lesser rivals?

A little deal in cement in New York City will help to explain some of the apprehensions of those who have looked with a critical eye on the industrial-control plans now being worked out in Washington. A good many people have forgotten that we once had in New York City the most completely organized control of a great industry this country has ever known. This was the organization of the building industry. It was closely knit together, combining both contractors, material men and laborers. It resulted in the most astounding stranglehold on the trades involved and the most scandalous extortions in prices. Now we are again to have a similar organization of industry. But it is insisted that this time the consumer—the general public—is counted in the picture. Of course, I do not believe the general public's place in the picture is a very imposing or secure one and that is one of my chief sources of misgiving about the measure. As things stand, no trade agreements for self-rule in industry will be effective until submitted to the President through his administrator. But it may be well to remember that formerly such an agreement could not be set up even with that approval. It was absolutely against the law and the prohibition was sanctioned by criminal prosecution. Yet that did not stop the agreements. And I do not believe that the new act, which recognizes the trade association as the instrument of rule in industry and suspends the sanctions of the Sherman law and the Clayton Act as to approved codes, is going to do away with price agreements and production agreements and trade practices inimical to the interests of the consuming public.

The City of New York has applied to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a slice of its public-works money. In anticipation of getting that aid the city has called for bids on certain public works. On May 26, the Board adopted a resolution barring foreign cement competitors from bidding. Immediately thereafter, and without any reason, bids on cement to the city were boosted forty cents a barrel. There are twenty-one domestic cement manufacturers represented in the city, and simultaneously and as if by inspiration the price of cement went up just forty cents. With an ironclad law against agreements in restraint of trade, the manufacturers announced that both the Supreme Court and the Federal Trade Commission had pronounced them pure. New York, however, replied by rescinding the resolution of May 26. What is to be the result when the existence and combination of these people is recognized in a trade association under a Code of Practice, the administration of which is turned over to them, in a new order in which the whole emphasis of control is on the side of the producer—and with six or seven thousand trade associations and codes to be scrutinized?

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Café de l' Univers

Without Music, by Dwight Fiske. Illustrated by Scott Wilson. Foreword by Robert Benchley. New York: The Chatham Press. 182 pages. $3.50.

THERE are hostesses who always condole with you for not having been to dinner yesterday, when the cook was marvelous; and there are, doubtless, friends of Mr. Dwight Fiske's who will say of his book that it needs the music that accompanies those pieces when he himself gives them. Mr. Fiske, as many people in New York, Paris and London know, sits down at the piano and declaims his poems to a running accompaniment that points the rhythm and marks the flow, not to speak of private pauses and an air of taking you into his confidence that invites your understanding or, shall we say, not without modernish implications, your correspondence?

It is partly true that these compositions set down in print do not employ the complete medium for which they are intended, as is also true, for that matter, of our readings in Greek drama. But by virtue of the author's musical ear, his instinct for emphasis and his sense of typography, "Ida, the Wayward Sturgeon," "Tilly the Pure White Leghorn" and most of the rest come out admirably. Among their many virtues—a word that would surprise them—their cerebral naughtiness and sophisticated comment are a rest after the slow bawdiness frequent to revues, musical shows and comic sheets. They have a strange effect of fairy tales in a romance of disillusion, of lullabys sung on the bosom of a trusting worldliness. They search biology and society, sex and social climbing, art and gossip, with an equal eye. Mr. Frank Sullivan is right when he says that if you cannot manage—manage is exactly rendered, for you do not hear this artist for a tuppence—to see Mr. Fiske perform these numbers, you should at least read the book of them. Mr. Robert Benchley is right in saying that the feeling for an accompaniment of the words "FOUR LARGE EMBOSSED CANDLES" with a loud F-sharp

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chord has made them funnier when performed, and that when printed this same sense keeps the fun by translating the chord into capital letters. And Mr. Scott Wilson is right when, illustrating the volume, he draws with such linear relish that picture above the line:

"In the Golden Horse-Shoe sat the BIGGEST FISH in the WORLD,"

or those mingled textures, black trousers, silk stockings and even the smoke of a cigarette, for the scene where Vera Young, at her cocktail party, goes to the bathroom,

"But the tub was full of STRANGERS."

It ought to be clear, then, that Mr. Fiske's is at least not one of those books about which all the right people are wrong—"If Winter Comes," for instance—and then next year, having once praised so but cooled with time, are ashamed to look you in the eye. The people who get the true salt of "Without Music" can look anybody in the eye. That goes for Mr. Benchley, for certain of Mr. Fiske's nightclub audiences who strain to appear witty not to be missing the dirt and dirty not to be missing the wit, and for myself when I read "Clarissa the Flea," "Carrie Wyllis Barnes," "Mayfair" or almost any of the pieces, say the "Queen Anne": after getting to the Carpathian Mountains and watching the Florentine magician, Carlos Pepino Alberto, do his tricks,

> Suddenly from out of her Great Royal Bosom,
> she took an old chair . . . .
> then an old commode . . . .
> and last . . . but not least
> a GREAT REFECTORY TABLE that would
> seat FORTY! ! ! ! !
>
> and said:
> "I am going to take them back to England
> and
> START a NEW PERIOD!"

When vers libre, which, for all its fancies, spats and cliques as to its novelty, was no more original historically than is the nudists' nakedness, took the poetic stage among us for a while, some years ago, it derived, so far as I was able to see, its main unique advantage from the printed page. Spaces, line-lengths and typographical rhythms prophesied and reënforced elements in the poetry itself. So in these poems of "Without Music" the eye is cunningly persuaded to do what the author performing before us asks of our ears. In "Wing-Toy and Ky-Fy":

> Now the procession was *rudely interrupted*
> in front of Wing-Toy's shop
> by two slightly over-trained
> ELEPHANTS
> who were performing out of turn!

Or "Red Riding-Hood of Russia." In this story Nadidja Michaelowitch, living in a dark forest with Prokofieff the wood chopper who lay dying—but too slowly—on the oven as he read Pushkin's life of the Tsar, had nine children; and it made her quite sick to see how quickly they came and how rarely they went. Eight of the children one day danced up to their mother and died of boredom; but Matrona, the eight-year-old, was too tough to die, she was so over-developed she was deaf. The parents called Matrona, who was playing with her cement bricks in the yard, keeping fifteen in the air at once, and sent her off to her grandmother's, hoping she would be lost. On her way she met the last pre-war Russian wolf and sat down and picked the last flower there was in Russia. However, to go back—when her mother called to her,

> Matrona said, "Da, Da."
> (She was really a bass).
> And dropping her cement bricks,
> she
> went
> upstairs . . . . . .
> (every part of her feet touched the ground)
> and put on the little red hood and cape
> that was made from the old horse blanket.

If we read that stanza aloud we will see how the printing of it comes from the same fingers that find those astonishing piano stresses, echoes and burlesques.

Alas for democracy and our happy theory of just-folks and born-artists! It was not for nothing that Mr. Fiske studied music at the Conservatoire in Paris and has read and traveled and been educated. The sense of the verse beat is remarkable. The curious and constant employment of inexhaustible allusions is cultivated, imaginative and naughty. It can truly be said of "Without Music" that the more you know the more you see in the lines; though I suppose it is equally true that the more you see the more you reveal how knowing you were. These pieces are often emendations to the hidden text of our vanities, scandals, metropolitan raptures and current follies. Some of them abound with cosmic things best known to hat-check girls, the lives of saints and the gossip of gigolos. And at the same time if there is, as we are always told, a wit that arises from the "swift perception of similarities," the parodies of our minds that often appear in these poems crackle with witty points. In "Gretchen Goudonoff," the Russian *artiste* when she is exhausted with so many sins that she has to take her exercise sitting down, is brought at last to New York by Mr. Bugbear, always twenty years late with everything, to dance at his Monday Morning Musicals. It is the last meeting of the season, at which time each member blows a note on her harmonica, which keeps the club alive.

> Mrs. Schuyler Bilge, the oldest member, always blew
> Middle C
> just to be democratic.
> She really LOATHED music.
> She only came to show people she could still walk.

In the first dance, "The Spirit of the Sirocco," Gretchen cannot move, and is only saved by a stagehand who has placed two electric fans behind her, which somehow gives her the spirit of an old, hot wind. In her last number, *Nuyages Fuyantes* ("Flying Clouds") arthritis sets in; she cannot stir, which is such a shock to the audience that they think it must be Sub-conscious Expressionism. This makes Gretchen the success of the world. Thus Gretchen—the author does not say so—becomes her audience, hot, dry and arthritic, and her audience becomes her success, their own picture.

"My point," Mr. Benchley says in the last sentence of his foreword, "is that it makes damned good reading, and makes me feel better about having laughed so loud at Dwight Fiske in nightclubs. I always have had a suspicion that I was drunk. Now I know that I was merely appreciative of something very, very good." It was a low suspicion on Mr. Benchley's part of his diverse capacities, one of them his judgment. How few critics know, as Mr. Fiske's Madame Barbara, the Sea Lion, does, what it is to be pursued UNDER WATER by someone going thirty miles an hour!

STARK YOUNG.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Shaking Hands with Dr. Ley

SIR: In the report of the International Labor Conference at Geneva published in the Berlin Angriff on June 10 the following interesting statement occurs. Dr. Ley, the Nazi representative of the German unions, had just finished his speech denouncing the Socialist majority of the conference for having ousted the German delegates from representation on the major committees. "After the speech the American labor representative came up to Dr. Ley and ostentatiously shook hands with him. This was noticed by all."

I think the American delegation owes the members of the American labor organizations an explanation.

New York City. CARL BUSH.

Defending the World's Fair

SIR: I confess to a certain irritation over the article "Chicago Interlude," in your issue of July 5, by my good friend and distinguished fellow citizen, Llewellyn Jones. Unfortunately I was out of town when the Federation of Chicago High School Teachers staged their satiric play "The Strangest Interlude in a Century of Progress," but I hope it was a witty and convincing arraignment of the strange anomalies of city politics, for the teachers certainly have a bitter grievance. I submit, however, that their grievance has nothing to do with the World's Fair or with the group of men who have carried that hazardous and fate-buffeted enterprise through to what seems to be a successful climax.

Mr. Jones' article is built upon the assertion, or at least the implication, of such a connection, as if the officials of the Fair, being bankers (perhaps they are or once were, mostly), could at will compel their respective banks to disregard the rules of their business, the rights of their depositors, perhaps the banking law itself, in order to help the graft-burdened city collect its delinquent taxes, or pay its employees with tax warrants—drafts on the future—of doubtful validity. Of course, it is the present fashion to endow all bankers with cloven hoofs and convince the world that they are incapable of disinterested motives, but I submit that this wholesale conviction without trial is a rather Hitlerish disregard of the rules of the game.

A World's Fair to celebrate Chicago's centenary was first projected during boom times, when any large expensive enterprise seemed easy. I venture to assert that the motives behind the project were as generous a gesture of local patriotism as has ever distinguished this much maligned town. It was indeed a disinterested effort to balk the Big Bill Thompson ballyhoo then at its loudest, and adorn Chicago's reputation with something more decorative than grafting politicians and murdering racketeers. At the start it seemed easy, but to never-give-up during the past three years, to fight for a dream when the very foundations of civilization seemed going to smash—I submit that this required a degree of doggedly heroic persistence rare at any time and among any group of human beings, and always to be admired. If I were a man, I would take off my hat to Rufus Dawes and those who have stood with him through the threats and hazards of this perilous enterprise; being a woman capped with frivolous millinery, I can only shout a brief word of praise.

There are details in Mr. Jones' article which seem a trifle warped from the true straight line of criticism. "The city which cannot pay the teachers has let the Fair have valuable favors"—one would think that was the least the city could do, since it gets the Fair for nothing, but if Mr. Jones looks into the matter he will find that he was misinformed, that such "favors" as the Fair was granted—permission to fill in submerged land, erect temporary buildings on it, fence it in, etc., came not from the city of Chicago but from the South Park Commission, a state organization completely separate from the city government. One finds complaint of the "squalidness of the neighborhood settled by Negroes" near the Fair grounds as "in vivid contrast to the overopulent temporary magnificence of the Fair." One might specify that the Fair is neither opulent nor magnificent, but an object lesson of fine effects gained with cheap materials; and that the Negro neighborhood nearby was, as late as 1900, the choicest residence section of the South Side, and still consists of mansions and comfortable homes built originally for well-to-do white people.

But why go on! One need only regret that Mr. Jones' usually amiable temper must have become a bit soured.

As for the Fair, New York will gradually rise to it, as it did forty years ago. Opie Read, who was director of publicity for the Columbian Exposition, said recently: "The difference between this fair and the fair of '93 is this: the first fair was overshadowed by the past and this fair foreshadows the future."

Chicago, Ill. HARRIET MONROE.

Extracts from Letters

J. T. SUNDERLAND, Ann Arbor, Michigan, feels that the Western world is paying too much attention to what Japan is doing in Manchuria, and not enough to what Great Britain is doing in India, which he considers is worse on several counts than the Japanese actions in Manchuria. He believes Great Britain "has drained away India's wealth by hundreds of millions and billions, reducing the country from the richest in the world to one of the poorest." He says Great Britain has shed "rivers and rivers of blood" in India in the past hundred years and that 20,000 of India's most intelligent and highly respected men and women are "confined and rotting in abominable prisons," by Britain's own confession, while the Indians say that the true number is nearer 50,000. He considers the atrocities charged against the Japanese insignificant compared with the atrocities committed by the British in India.

Leif Dahl of Washington, D. C., who has contributed to The New Republic, writes to say that he does not believe the Farm Bill will rescue American agriculture. He thinks it merely "postpones for a short time the further struggles of the distressed farm population." He says the benefits from increased grain prices have gone largely to speculators and that the advances in farm products are offset by a proportionate increase in the cost of consumers' goods bought by the farmers. "Mortgage holders foresee large profits in increased land values if possession is arranged in the early stages of inflation." He thinks the refinancing phase of the bill is "class legislation, since it provides for the refinancing of only one-fourth of the outstanding mortgage indebtedness of farmers. Slightly more than one-half the farmers now 'own' farms and therefore but one-eighth of the farm population will be benefited at best." Mr. Dahl thinks however that "the main recipients will be the larger land holders, the kulak farmers." He thinks the domestic-allotment feature "presents countless difficulties in local application, provides for petty graft, and will drive thousands of tenants and share-croppers into starvation by taking out of production the land they now till." He considers that the processors' tax will sharply contract the purchasing power of the city consumers and sees the spectacle "of a muddled and frantic government deliberately legislating its subjects into starvation! . . . The jobless and unemployed worker is being played against the farmer. No attempt, not even a threat, is made against the swollen profits of the processors or middlemen. No adequate unemployment program is proposed that would temporarily bring relief to both worker and farmer." He thinks this policy is making violent revolution inevitable.

Allen Stiller, secretary of the Labor Party Association, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, writes to tell us of the purposes of this association, which hopes "to establish a National Farmer Labor party to make possible national political expression of . . . all elements oppressed by big capital, regardless of race, religion, nationality or political belief." The executive committee is planning an immediate citywide campaign for the party in New York.

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A Poet in His Letters

Letters of Robert Browning, collected by Thomas J. Wise. Edited by Thurman L. Hood. New Haven: Yale University Press. 589 pages. $5.

IT WAS part of Browning's romanticism to conceal his personality from the world. Unlike Byron who bore

> Thro Europe to the Aetolian shore
> The pageant of his bleeding heart

Browning maintained the chivalrous illusions of an inner life consecrated to a single love. This is the theme of "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli." In "House" he asks

> Shall I sonnet-sing you about myself
> Unlock my heart with a sonnet key?

and concludes that if Shakespeare's sonnets are so to be interpreted, then "the less Shakespeare he." In "One Word More" he exclaims:

> God be thanked, the meanest of His creatures
> Boasts two soul-sides, one to face the world with,
> One to show a woman when he loves her.

Accordingly, one will not look in Browning's miscellaneous letters for the personal quality which gives literary value to the work of the born letter-writer. After the intimate effusion of his letters to Elizabeth Barrett, the present volume is something of an anticlimax.

One relation, however, called out a reminiscent warmth of personal coloring which sets its record apart from the general mass of his correspondence. After Mrs. Browning's death, and Browning's establishment in London, he made an arrangement to exchange letters regularly with Miss Isabella Blagden, who had been his wife's closest friend in Florence. She wrote to him on the twelfth of each month, his wedding date, and he replied on the nineteenth.

> It is the greatest of comforts [he wrote on January 19, 1862], that I have secured to myself, by a word to your kindness, a certainty to the end of one of our lives of knowing something about you every month, wherever you are, however you are. I shall never try to even amuse you—on the other hand writing the little note or long letter will be so pleasant to me that you may possibly get some of my pleasure thro' the poor words.

Miss Blagden was a novelist whose works were so little read that Mr. Hood notes that the copies in the British Museum "had until recently never been fully opened." After the first, Browning seems to have shied away from comment on them, but with characteristic chivalry he broke with his publishers, Chapman and Hall, in her quarrel. Mr. Wise selected from the entire Blagden correspondence letters which he considered of special value. The last is dated July 17, 1871. Miss Blagden died in January, 1873.

To Miss Blagden Browning wrote of subjects not touched in his other letters. Among these, special interest attaches to his judgment of his contemporaries. Of Tennyson he wrote:

> We look at the object of art in poetry so differently! Here is an Idyll about a knight being untrue to his friend and yielding to the temptation of that friend's mistress after having engaged to assist him in his suit. I should judge the conflict in the knight's soul the proper subject to describe: Tennyson thinks he should describe the castle, and effect of the moon on its towers, and anything *but* the soul.

Of Swinburne:

> As to Swinburne's verses, I agree with you—they are "florid impotence," to my taste—the *minimum* of thought and idea in the *maximum* of words and phraseology. Nothing said and done with, left to stand alone and trust for its effect in its own worth.

And of Rossetti:

> Yes—I have read Rossetti's poems—and poetical they are—*scented* with poetry, as it were—like trifles of various sorts you take out of a cedar or sandal-wood box: you know I hate the effeminacy of his school—the men that dress up like women—that use obsolete forms, too, and archaic accentuations to seem soft—fancy a man calling it a lily—*liliés* and so on . . .

Matthew Arnold is the only contemporary poet whom he quotes. He takes pleasure in Arnold's acceding to his request for the republication of "Empedocles on Etna" (Browning writes Enceladus), and adds, "I like the man as much as his poems."

To Miss Blagden he complains of the persistence of London gossip in contracting a second marriage for him—once with the girl-poet, Jean Ingelow.

> It is funny people think I am likely to do nothing naughty in the world, neither rob nor kill, seduce nor ravish—only honestly *marry*—which I should consider the two last—and perhaps two first—naughtinesses united, together with the grace of perjury.

To Miss Blagden he confides his hopes and fears on the subject nearest his heart—his son Robert Wiedeman Barrett Browning, known always by his nickname Pen. Early he records that Pen is "good, kind, cautious, self-respecting, and true," but he cannot stifle a certain ambition: "I want him to be what I think he may be." It was on Pen's account that he cultivated Jowett, the Master of Balliol, and regretted his own failure to become Professor of Poetry at Oxford in succession to Matthew Arnold. "Had it been offered me, I should have accepted it—simply on account of the wish I have to stand well with—and, above all, near to—the University where Pen will spend the next three or four years." He appreciated his honorary degree from Oxford of M. A. because it "gives me a natural right to come down to Oxford now and then—to see what the said Pen is about." Pen did not stay long at Oxford. He became a mediocre painter and sculptor over whose career Browning watched with anxious solicitude, even using his pull with Carlyle to bring the old hero to visit his son's exhibition. This revelation of fatherhood (especially in the letters to Pen and his wife) is one of the precious things in the volume. It adds something to the pathos of the situation to reflect that perhaps the chief handicap to Pen's career was the necessity of living up to the claims of his distinguished ancestry. Those who remember the genial little sculptor will recall the sad humor with which he used to relate how a little girl once stood long at gaze before him and finally murmured: "Can it be that you are the son of those two glorious poets!"

It was for Pen's sake that the surviving glorious poet marred his record of romantic constancy, and proposed a second marriage to Lady Ashburton—the successor to the famous lady who wrought confusion to the Carlyle *ménage*. The facts, which may be gathered from letters to Edith Story, are set forth in detail in an article in The Yale

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Review in 1932, printed as an appendix to the present volume. The crucial passage is as follows:

> I suppose that Lady A. did not suppress what she considered the capital point of her quarrel with me when she foamed out into the couple of letters she bespattered me with—yet the worst she charged me with was—having said that my heart was buried in Florence, and the attractiveness of a marriage with her lay in its advantage to Pen—two simple facts—as I told her—which I had never left her in ignorance about, for a moment, though that I ever paraded this in a gross form to anybody is simply false. . . .

Other letters in the present collection are of interest, especially those to Carlyle showing Browning's devotion, equal to Elizabeth Barrett's, to that great man, and those to Dr. Furnival and to Professor Dowden explaining passages in the poems. Dr. Furnival was the initiator of the Browning society with its branches which turned Browning's obscurity to advantage in making him in his lifetime a subject of scholarly research. It was before the Boston Browning Society that George Santayana, then a young instructor at Harvard, read his brilliant onslaught published under the title "The Poetry of Barbarism," in "Poetry and Religion." The Browning Society was the object of considerable humor, in England and America. To remonstrances Browning himself replied with robust good sense:

> The Browning Society, I need not say, as well as Browning himself, are fair game for criticism. I had no more to do with the founding it than the babe unborn; and as Wilkes was no Wilkeite, I am quite other than a Browningite. But I cannot wish harm to a society of, with a few exceptions, names unknown to me, who are busied about my books so disinterestedly.

And again:

> When all is done—I cannot but be very grateful for the institution of the Society; for to what else but the eight years' persistent calling attention to my works can one attribute the present demand for them?

It remains only to add that Mr. Wise's selection of representative letters, from among the hundred which passed through his hands, to show "Robert Browning as a man among his fellow men in the Victorian age," has been made with acumen and discretion, and Professor Hood's notes are impeccable.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

Nationalistic History

The History and Destiny of the Jews, by Josef Kastein. New York: Viking Press. 473 pages. $3.50.

MR. KASTEIN'S powers are rich and unusual. They were forecast in the brilliant first chapter of his previous book, "The Messiah of Ismir," in which he summarized the history of a century in an essay at once comprehensive and conclusive. They are in full development in this brief history of the Jews, the reading of which gives a curious effect of amplitude and completeness, as if it were a work of twelve volumes rather than one. These gifts, to consider first the less important, are a dignified and sonorous prose and a powerful rhetoric. More notable is the gift that is also Mr. Kastein's chief failing. Abandoning the objectivity of the scientific school of history where only too frequently neutrality becomes nullity, Mr. Kastein announces, from the very beginning, a special point of view and considers only those areas of Jewish history that fall within that focus. The advantages of this treatment are clear. The reader realizes soon enough that he is receiving only a partial view; but that part is made so direct and shiningly visible that its impress on the mind is deep and effective.

But the most characteristic and unusual of Mr. Kastein's qualities, the one that gives him a high place among contemporary historians, is his ability to arrange the events and tendencies of a historical epoch into a coherent pattern in which no important figure or occurrence is isolate, but is shown in functional relationship to every other. In the present book these talents are devoted to an avowedly nationalistic presentation of Jewish history. The Jews are held to be a spiritual and creative people and Mr. Kastein's presentation of the evolutions of Jewish culture is perhaps the finest achievement of his book. But nationalism being what it is, distortions are inevitable. Such nobility and endurance and spirituality as may be conceded to the Jewish race, in common with all mankind, are fantastically exaggerated; the role of Christ, who is presented as a feeble, split personality, is absurdly minimized; the combat between Greek civilization and Jewish civilization which began with the establishment of the post-Alexandrian empires, lasted for four centuries and was continued by Hellenized Christianity, is entered as a Jewish victory and interpreted in terms grotesquely unfair to Greek culture; such episodes as the exclusion of the half-Jew Samaritans, then the "natives" of Palestine, from Jerusalem on the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and later the forcible repudiation of alien wives, a truly Hitlerian race purging, are defended by Mr. Kastein with Hitlerian logic; the swarming of Jews into radical movements is explained not by the clear and convincing factors of an insecure economic and social status, but on the grounds that, being a spiritual and just race, how could the Jews do otherwise?

The economic factors are in fact disdained by Mr. Kastein. They are too mundane for his superior race, as these paragraphs, written perhaps in defiance of the proddings of a scholarly conscience, show:

> The economic development of the Jew has really nothing to do with either his nature or his ideology. When, for instance, we speak of the nature of the German, we do not mention his undoubtedly great commercial ability; and when we speak of a certain country as a nation of "shopkeepers," we are apt to do so with a touch of contempt.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kastein does not hesitate to use economic determinism to interpret the acts of Judah's enemies; showing to what extent Greek hostility was aroused by the competition of Jewish trading colonies; how often confiscation of Jew money was the motive for persecution by Christian kings; and how often the peculiar capacity of the Jews to amass taxable income was fostered, and brought about the protection of Jews by lords and bishops. How clear and understandable Mr. Kastein's history becomes at these points! And how immeasurably more valuable it would be if he had followed this course throughout!

History needs always to be read with the understanding that the first task of the reader is to penetrate the historian's limitations, prejudices and direction; and the better the historian the more important it is to make this penetration. Here, as everywhere, the omissions, emphases and implications, when considered critically, are the gist of the work. Read in this manner, "The History and Destiny of the Jews" is of high value.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

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Fiction, Various Sizes

Anthony Adverse, by Hervey Allen. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

The First Wife, and Other Stories, by Pearl S. Buck. New York: The John Day Company. $2.50.

Carr, by Phyllis Bentley. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.

Try the Sky, by Francis Stuart. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.

IT IS not nearly so sizable a feat to read "Anthony Adverse" as to have written it; Mr. Allen's task, it is said, took him nearly four years, and the reader, if he stays the course, should get home in much less time than that. But this novel of half a million words lays a burden on modern impatience that many readers may groan under. "Anthony Adverse" is really too big. Whether or not it is true that every novel carries organically within it its own natural pattern and size, no adventure story, however picaresque, of however solid a weave, should be spun out to such a length. It is hard not to judge such a book as "Anthony Adverse" too severely, for its monumental bulk alone raises it above the common mass of novels into a region appreciably nearer the stars. And yet it is clear that Mr. Allen was not attempting to rival such a book as "War and Peace," for instance. His story is not simply centered around one individual; it is—except for the introductory book giving the romance of his hero's parentage—the story of one individual's adventures. If Anthony himself were less of a hero and more of a person, his adventures would matter less and his story would matter more. As it is, we are always less interested in him than in what happens to him.

On the other side of the ledger it must be noted that "Anthony Adverse" is almost incredibly readable; that its scenes, without smelling too smokily of the lamp, have a lively contemporary air, rare in historical novels; that although there are lengthy digressions and even a few addresses from the author to the reader, there is not enough sawdust in these 1,224 pages to sneeze at.

"Anthony Adverse" is the story of a foundling who ran as full a gamut of human experience as few citizens of even Napoleonic times could expect to do. The bastard son of an English girl married to a Machiavellian Spanish diplomat, he started life as an orphan in an Italian convent, was adopted by a Scotch merchant in Livorno, became successively a young man of fashion in Cuba, a slaver in Africa, a rich milord in Paris and London, a powerful financial agent in New Orleans, a plantation-owner, a savage in the wilderness, a prisoner driven across Mexican deserts, an inmate of a lazar-house, a rich man again and finally a contented domestic recluse. It is not an "exciting" book, in the sense in which Dostoevsky's novels, for example, are exciting; but it has plenty of excitement in it, as well as plenty of better than competent writing, first-hand observation and good sound sense. It will not be known, either immediately or hereafter, as the Great American Novel, but it will at once take its deserved place among the very good, the mostly true and the rather beautiful.

Mrs. Buck's novels of China have been swallowed so indiscriminately by the public (and by most critics) that it is a temptation to give her less than her due, since she has already received more praise than she deserves. And when the idolatrous Mr. Walsh, introducing this latest collection of her short stories, says that "it seems clear that no native Chinese, however schooled in English prose, could have written of his own people as Mrs. Buck has written of them," it makes you want to apologize to China for Mr. Walsh in general and Mrs. Buck in particular. But an author should not always be judged by the company that keeps him. Mrs. Buck writes (most of the time) like a sensible and warm-hearted woman: she would doubtless be the first to deny that she has either discovered or profoundly interpreted the Chinese soul. What she has done is to write about the Chinese as if they were—as they are supposed to be—human beings. With the exception of a few ignorant affectations (inappropriately Biblical language that has a distinctly ham flavor, a disagreeably Bruce-Barton connotation), she writes plainly and well. The stories in this book are of modern China. Mrs. Buck takes no sides in the argument of the New vs. the Old, but makes it fairly plain that in any event she is not on the side of the foreign angels.

Phyllis Bentley's "Inheritance," published last year, was a later book than "Carr," which appeared in England several years ago. Like "Inheritance," "Carr" is a novel of family, set against the background of Yorkshire textile mills. It is also a trial marriage of biographical method to a fictional subject. Miss Bentley's hero, aside from his likable character, is an undistinguished man and by most standards a failure; but his career is decked out in full biographical panoply, with chronology, documents, footnotes and all. It is greatly to Miss Bentley's credit that this meticulous solemnity almost never breaks down into the absurd, as it easily might. To the lure of the footnote, that trap for the unwary biographer, Miss Bentley succumbs once too often when she appends this tidbit to a family luncheon scene: "There was, as it chanced, a treacle tart upon the table; Eugene, till then, had been very fond of treacle tarts, but from that day he could never bear the sight of one." There are few treacle tarts in the book, however; by and large, "Carr" is a competently sympathetic study of provincial Victorian life.

With his third novel, Francis Stuart seems to have found himself. This commendation is dragged out in the teeth of another well meaning introduction, this time by the sere and yellow Compton Mackenzie, who suggests that Mr. Stuart "has a message for the modern world of infinitely greater importance than anything offered by D. H. Lawrence." "Try the Sky" is written with a conciseness and confidence that were lacking in Mr. Stuart's earlier novels, and that remind the American reader more than once of Hemingway. It is perhaps a less fortunate American influence that has led Mr. Stuart into what seem almost deliberate crimes of grammar: a constant misuse of "like" for "as," and such schoolboy howlers as "so as we could," ". . . and left Buttercup and I," ". . . like such people are apt." The story is a little cuckoo, like Mr. Stuart's stories are apt, but it impresses us because it is told with such conviction. A young Irish horse-trainer and Carlotta, a Viennese girl, join forces with a simple-minded Canadian and his wife, a half-breed Indian, who are chugging up the Danube in a rickety motor boat. They intend to get all the way to Canada in this crazy vessel, but in Munich they fall in with a Nazi doctor who has invented the last word in airplanes, and are easily persuaded to join him in a mysterious flight that will astonish the world. After a great deal of ballyhoo they set off at dusk, and the next morning land—in Ireland. The Irishman, who was almost convinced that they were really going to fly to heaven, or at least across the Atlantic, is at first disgusted; but Carlotta's unwavering faith shames him, his Irish blood comes to the fore, and he makes a trinity of Ireland, Carlotta and Love.

T. S. MATTHEWS.

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Armies of Liberation

The White Armies of Russia, by George Stewart. New York: The Macmillan Company. 484 pages. $4.

THIS is the most complete work on the Russian civil wars yet to appear in English. It is successful to a degree, and in a manner probably never intended by the author, who seems to have undertaken his task in the belief that he was chronicling an episode of unheard-of courage in describing the heroism of the army of "The March of Ice," the army "whose emblem was a crown of thorns pierced by a dagger."

What he actually succeeds in proving is that the White generals were fragments thrown off in the downfall of the Russian ruling classes, to whose traditions of incompetence and apathy they remained true to the death; that they were poor strategists, poor administrators, poor diplomats; that they were never able to effect any kind of union even among themselves; that they were totally impervious to the wants of the populations they harried in the name of defense, so that the Reds, who were by no means everywhere popular, were ultimately regarded as liberators; that their armies were the rallying point for the most backward, not to say degenerate, elements in town and country; and, finally and most important, that their existence was so makeshift, so historically incongruous, that they could last only as long as the Powers supported them. When that support was withdrawn, the White armies collapsed. This study might have been more fruitful and provocative as history had the author chosen to dwell longer on the purpose and extent of this aspect of the White struggle.

For intervention began almost at once. Hardly had the Bolsheviks seized the wireless station at Tsarskoe Selo than they sent to the Western nations their frantic appeals for peace, addressed simply—"To All! To All! To All!" These proposals were met with unanimous action by Allies and Central Powers alike, who, nevertheless, continued to gore one another. And the Bolsheviks, who had cried for peace, soon found themselves fighting for their lives on a great fluctuating battle line from the Manchurian frontier, through Turkestan, Transcaucasia, South Russia, the Ukraine, the Baltic provinces, Finland and even sub-arctic Murmansk and Archangel. The Red Guards faced the White, but in the end they fought Japanese, Czechs, English, Turks, French, Greeks, Italians, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Finns and Americans. Where the Powers could not send men, they sent money, supplies, arms. Such were the "Armies of Liberation"! The struggle occupied five years. The destruction of life and property was incalculable. There was famine and typhus. The suffering of the Whites, as the author is at pains to show, was enormous. He is less detailed in his account of the suffering of Soviet citizens.

The main fronts on which the Powers sustained the Whites were four: in the South Denikine and Wrangel; in the Northwest, Judenitch; in Siberia, Kolchak; and in the Far East a singular trio, distinguished by a kind of subnormal bestiality and the fact that they were all subsidized by the Japanese—Kalmykov, Semenov and Ungern-Sternberg. When Ungern-Sternberg entered a restaurant, Mr. Stewart notes, the diners left; he was in the habit of shooting them for pleasure.

The account of the wars in these extended theatres is as full as might be expected in a single volume. The author excels in characterization of the White notables, and somewhat in the description of military operations. But his attempts to analyze the social and political aspects of the White governments are painful and his "objectivity" consists in this: he cannot love the Reds, but he cannot blind himself to the hopeless incompetence and futile ferocity of the Whites. It is noteworthy that whereas the Reds always "massacre brutally, bestially," or the equivalent, the Whites are consistent in killing everyone merely "mercilessly" in reprisal. Indeed, one finishes with a definite impression of White generals, crowned with thorns pierced by a dagger, fighting daily, fighting nightly, fighting heroically, against something engulfing, something horrible, something ineluctable—but just what they never discern themselves, and neither, apparently, does Mr. Stewart.

He is hampered by a sense of horror, and as history at best is violent, doubly so in such periods, this is a drawback. Having no theory of the mechanics of history, he sees merely its bleeding surface and is appalled by its lavish bloodshed and butchery. Hence his account is often little more than a gruesome record. It might have been well for Mr. Stewart, in writing of the Russian civil wars, to remember that revolutions are made not in parlors, but against them. Then he might have contributed to an understanding of historical conflict and direction, might even have grasped, without unduly paling, that, as Lenin said, it may conceivably be "more pleasant and useful to live through a revolution than to write about it."

HUGH JONES.

Eugenics and Success

Essays on Population, by James A. Field. Edited by Helen F. Hohman. The University of Chicago Press. 440 pages. $3.50.

THESE collected papers by the late Professor James A. Field of the University of Chicago give a peculiar satisfaction to his friends and admirers. A man of great charm, with a powerful yet subtle mind, Field was extraordinarily self-critical and was content with nothing short of perfection itself. As a result he published little, and during the last decade of his life almost nothing at all. Few of our generation of economists have been as stimulating teachers of alert minds as Field, but, as he remarked of his colleague, Hoxie, a teacher is one whose name tends to be writ in water. When he died in 1927, at the height of his powers, many of us therefore feared that he had largely lost in that contest against oblivion which all men of talent must perforce wage, but about which Field, to his credit, never primarily cared. This collection not only assembles the brilliant articles on eugenics and the early history of the neo-Malthusian movement together with that on the logarithmic scale—which Field was probably the first in the field of American economics to develop—but it also includes four unpublished papers on population problems which show characteristic polish. Perhaps the most thoughtful of all are the two papers which probe the facile identification by most eugenicists of economic success with eugenic value. Field shows that the high concentration and extreme specialization which is required for "success" in modern life can often be obtained only at the price of sacrificing those well rounded qualities which are most needed for parenthood and a full life and that the devotion which family life at its best calls forth cannot in turn command an economic price in the market place.

Even these essays, excellent as they are, cannot fully

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recapture the distinction which clothed Field's thought and life. For, unlike most scholars, the man was far greater than his work. But they do give tangible and enduring evidence of the breadth of his interests and the keenness of his perceptions. Best of all, they may serve to remind young and old scholars alike that even in the midst of a society where quantitative standards largely sway academic as well as business life, one may still serve what the editor finely terms "the timeless standards of excellence" with profit to one's generation and with honor to oneself.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Book Notes

AMERICANA

WHITE SPIRITUALS OF THE SOUTHERN UPLANDS, by George Pullen Jackson. *Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 444 pages. $4.50.*

Here is a lively, scholarly, ample account of a phase of native folk-music hitherto generally unknown or disregarded, that of religious shape-note song, which has persisted from an early day in rural districts of the South and Southwest. White sources for Negro spirituals have been discussed by others, but rarely with so graphic a presentation of musical and verbal parallels. The white spirituals are more highly emotional, more truly choral in effect than the hymns usually cited: yet Mr. Jackson's conclusions on the whole are moderate. He emphasizes the "quite radical changes" made by the Negro and asserts that the Negro tendency has been to simplify tunes in pitch compass, to loosen the exactions of scale intervals and to complicate simple rhythmic trends. But this collateral discussion makes only one of many in the book on the folk-music of the South in the past hundred years or more, and even these inclusions do not suggest a further final contribution which it makes. By the use of an immense descriptive detail, a stress upon personalities and backgrounds and geography, Mr. Jackson has succeeded in portraying a rural people deeply striated through our civilization. He has shown a compact and enduring wedge of the American character. It will be a pity if this book is appropriated only by students of music and folklore.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

ESSAYS IN BIOGRAPHY, by John Maynard Keynes. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 318 pages. $2.50.*

Mr. Keynes' impressionistic pen-portraits of Lloyd George and the Council of Four at Versailles, of Bonar Law, Winston Churchill, Lord Oxford and Edwin Montagu, dashed off under the immediate stimulus of events, display an ingratiating style and a remarkable power of insight into the motives and characters of his subjects. In a second group of sketches in this volume Mr. Keynes pays homage to three celebrated Cambridge economists, Malthus, F. Y. Edgeworth and Alfred Marshall—and to Frank Ramsey, the young philosophical genius whose death at twenty-six was so heavy a loss to mathematical logic. Although the memoir of Marshall supplies much interesting and fresh information on the life and work of that master of economics, it is on the whole a disappointing estimate. Mr. Keynes does ample justice to Marshall's achievements and influence but refrains from criticizing his thought or placing it in historical perspective. This is unfortunate—for the economist who announced "the end of laissez-faire" might have made many more pointed observations on its foremost advocate and theorist in the province of economics.

GIBBON, by G. M. Young. *New York: D. Appleton and Company. 188 pages. $1.50.*

Rarely has the life of a writer been so completely identified with a book as Gibbon's with his great history. The clue to the extraordinary serenity and happiness of his life, which escaped tragedy almost completely, lies in this identity. It gave him a purpose and a constantly satisfied sense of accomplishment, as volume after volume was published and received the awed greetings of the public. The omnivorous reading of Gibbon's childhood and youth, and his travels, were preparation for his work, as his evasions of ordinary careers and of marriage were an instinctive avoidance of obstacles. It is therefore natural that so great a part of this biography should be the biography of a book, the events that attended its conception, its composition and its career in publication. With a graceful style and with a compression that makes up for the brevity imposed upon him, Mr. Young has performed his task with distinction.

FICTION

THE ENCHANTED WINTER, by Martin Hare. *New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.*

"The Enchanted Winter" is one spent by Phillip Silver, Liverpool bank clerk, with his relatives at the Kilmartin Rectory in West Cork. There he becomes entangled in the family loves and hates, involved in the intrigues of the children against their parents, and learns to love the countryside. When he leaves, it is with deeply felt pangs of nostalgia. Perhaps the most notable feature of the novel is the manner in which the author dramatizes how the children, reacting against the stern code of their ministerial father, develop an amoral attitude toward life. The characters are convincing and well understood; and they make the book. It is written in an easy and slow style, compounding sympathy with malice and irony. Now and then, the author mars her work by her habit of dropping in incidental redundancies about human nature in general. "The Enchanted Winter" is a very readable novel.

THE PARTISAN LEADER, by Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. *Edited, with an Introduction, by Carl Bridenbaugh. In the Americana Deserta Series, edited by Bernard DeVoto. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.*

This early explosion of secession sentiment was worth reprinting for more than one reason. Its contribution as part of the record is unmistakable. Published in 1836, the action is laid in the year 1849, and is based on a supposed struggle by which Virginia is led to follow South Carolina in secession. As a novel the work is faulty, failing because of long interludes of explanation and fulminating talk; but it remains something of a tour de force, and the first portion is rather more. The drawing of characters from the Shenandoah Valley and the Blue Ridge have the boldness of type. The touches of vernacular hold up well and the early scenes really expand. These effects are not so good as in similar writing by Simms, Kennedy and Bird, but the book belongs with those Southern romances which have a strong native flavor and should be appropriated as part of our literary tradition.

Contributors

HANS ZÖRNER, professor of Farm Management at the Agricultural College of Berlin, returned recently from a trip through the agricultural sections of the U.S.S.R.

MARY HEATON VORSE, who is at present traveling in Europe, contributes extensively to the magazines and is the author of several novels, the most recent being "Strike!"

HAROLD M. GROVES, professor of Public Finance at the University of Wisconsin, was formerly a member of the Wisconsin Tax Commission and the Wisconsin legislature.

GEORGE E. NOVACK is on the staff of E. P. Dutton and Company and is at present working on a history of American philosophy since the Civil War.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, who handles publicity for the Macaulay Company, is the author of a novel, "Dr. Transit," and of a volume of verse.

T. S. MATTHEWS is literary editor of Time and has published one novel, "To the Gallows I Must Go."

HUGH JONES is an engineer who recently returned from an extended visit in Russia.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, is president of the Utility Consumers' and Investors' League of Illinois.

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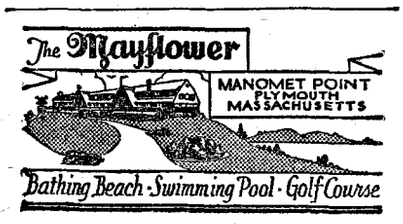

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